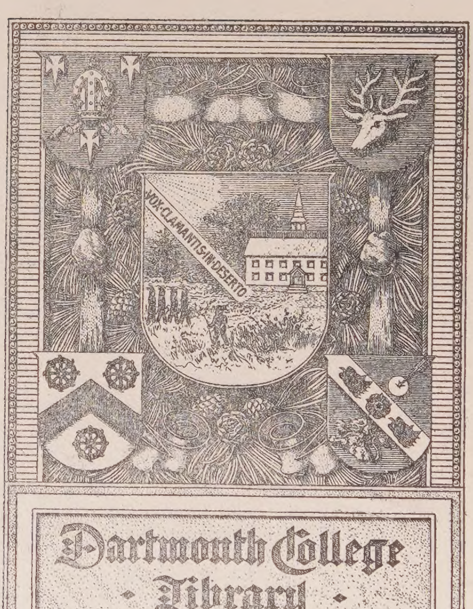
VOX·CLAMANTIS·IN·DESERTO

Dartmouth College
· Library ·

M.D Bisbee Del. J.W Spenceley Sc. 1907.

Discarded by
Dartmouth College Librar

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyofspanish0003chan_i6v6

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

VOLUME III

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

A HISTORY OF SPANISH PAINTING

BY

CHANDLER RATHFON POST
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

VOLUME III

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1930

Discarded by
Dartmouth College Library

COPYRIGHT, 1930
BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

Art
Ref
ND
801
.P6
V.3

MAY 9 - 1930
260782
F. arts

~~768.46
P845h
V.3~~

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

CONTENTS

PART IV

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES

(CONTINUED)

CHAPTER XXX

The Sources and General Characteristics of the Italo-Gothic and International Styles at Valencia 3

CHAPTER XXXI

Valencian Paintings Exhibiting Strong Italian Influence . . . 11

CHAPTER XXXII

The General Characteristics of the More Indigenous Form of the International Style at Valencia. Pedro Nicolau and Certain Paintings Contemporary with him. His Successors

1. Introduction 22
2. Pedro Nicolau 23
3. Works in the Same General Style as those of Nicolau 34
4. Works Contemporary with Nicolau but not in the Same Style . 37
5. The Continuers of Nicolau's manner 43

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Germanic Tendency at Valencia. Andrés Marzal de Sas and his Circle

1. Andrés Marzal de Sas 57
2. Contemporary Works in the Germanic Style 73
3. Later Examples of the Germanic Tendency 90

CHAPTER XXXIV

The "Détente" of the Germanic Tendency at Valencia . . . 94

CHAPTER XXXV

The Catalan Influence at Valencia 112

CHAPTER XXXVI

Other Valencian Paintings in the International Style . . . 129

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Italo-Gothic and International Styles in Majorca . . . 137

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Italo-Gothic and International Styles in Aragon and Navarre

1. The Sources and General Characteristics 163
2. The Catalan Influence 164
3. The Aragonese Counterpart of the Manner of Guimerá 177
4. Aragonese Paintings in the Franco-Flemish Manner 192
5. The Castilian Influence 209
6. The Indigenous Group 212

CHAPTER XXXIX

The First Stage of Italo-Gothic Painting in Castile 221

CHAPTER XL

Dello Delli 234

CHAPTER XLI

Nicolás Francés and his Circle 261

CHAPTER XLII

The Italo-Gothic and International Styles in Andalusia . . . 297

Appendix. Additions to Volume III 327
Index of Names of Artists, Volumes I–III 339
Index of Places, Volumes I–III 343

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		*Page*
249.	St. Luke Writing his Gospel, Section of Retable of Valencian Guild of Carpenters	5
250.	The Nativity. Hispanic Society, New York	6
251.	Retable of St. Lucy. Parish Church, Albal	12
252.	St. Michael, Fragment of Retable. Parish Church, Sot de Ferrer	13
253.	Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer. Provincial Museum, Valencia	15
254.	Madonna with Sts. Benedict and Bernard. Garnelo Collection, Madrid	19
255.	Pedro Nicolau (?). Madonna and Angels. Parish Church, Sarrión	25
256.	Pedro Nicolau (?). Madonna and Angels. Gualino Collection, Turin	27
257.	Valencian School. Madonna and Angels. Louvre, Paris	29
258.	Valencian School. St. John Baptist and an Episcopal Saint. Louvre, Paris	31
259.	Madonna and Angels. Cathedral, Valencia	33
260.	Transfiguration. Town-hall, Chiva de Morella	35
261.	Sts. Vincent and Stephen, Centre of a Retable. Iglesia de la Sangre, Liria	39
262.	Madonna of Mercy from Montesa. Prado, Madrid	41
263.	Madonna and Worshippers, Section of Retable of Sto. Domingo, Valencia. Provincial Museum, Valencia	45
264.	Retable. Ermita de la Esperanza, Albocácer	47
265.	Retable. Ermita de San Roque, Jérica	49
266.	Madonna. Walters Collection, Baltimore	51
267.	Episcopal Saint. Museum, Cleveland	55
268.	Andrés Marzal de Sas (?). Incredulity of St. Thomas. Cathedral, Valencia	59
269.	Andrés Marzal de Sas (?). St. George and the Dragon, Section of Retable of the Centenar de la Pluma, Valencia. Victoria and Albert Museum, London	61
270.	Andrés Marzal de Sas (?). Tortures of St. George, Section of Retable of the Centenar de la Pluma, Valencia. Victoria and Albert Museum, London	63
271.	Andrés Marzal de Sas (?). Episodes from the Legend of St. George, Section of Retable of the Centenar de la Pluma, Valencia. Victoria and Albert Museum, London	67
272.	Andrés Marzal de Sas (?). Death of the Virgin. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia	69

273. Andrés Marzal de Sas (?). Heraclius Carrying the Cross into Jerusalem, Section of Retable of the Holy Cross. Provincial Museum, Valencia 71
274. André's Marzal de Sas (?). Death of St. Vincent (?). Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona 72
275. Circle of Marzal de Sas. Arrival of the Apostles for the Death of the Virgin, Section of Retable. Parish Church, Rubielos de Mora 74
276. Circle of Marzal de Sas. St. Barbara, Central Panel of Retable. Bosch Collection, Barcelona 76
277. Circle of Marzal de Sas. The Baptism of St. Barbara and the Building of the Tower, Section of Retable of St. Barbara. Bosch Collection, Barcelona 77
278. Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez (?). Sts. Clement and Martha. Cathedral, Valencia 79
279. Circle of Marzal de Sas (?). Creation of Eve, Section of Retable of the Trinity. Augustinian Convent, Rubielos de Mora . . . 82
280. Circle of Nicolau and Marzal de Sas. St. Giles, the War in Heaven, and the Commission of the Apostles, Section of Retable. Metropolitan Museum, New York 85
281. Circle of Nicolau and Marzal de Sas. St. Vincent, Scenes from the Passion, and the Ascension, Section of Retable. Hispanic Society, New York 87
282. Circle of Marzal de Sas (?). Death of the Virgin. National Gallery, London 88
283. School of Marzal de Sas. Pietà. Cathedral, Valencia 91
284. School of Marzal de Sas. Entombment. Monastic Church, El Puig 92
285. Retable from Portaceli. Provincial Museum, Valencia 95
286. St. Bartholomew. Museum, Worcester, Mass. 97
287. St. Michael. National Gallery, Edinburgh 99
288. Mass of St. Martin, Fragment of Retable. Provincial Museum, Valencia 101
289. St. Martin Resuscitating a Youth (?), Fragment of Retable. Provincial Museum, Valencia 102
290. Pietà, Central Section of a Predella. Provincial Museum, Valencia 103
291. Trial of St. Dominic's and of the Albigensian Books by Fire, Fragment of Retable. Provincial Museum, Valencia. 105
292. Trinity. Museum, Vich 107
293. Triptych. Román Vicente Collection, Saragossa 109
294. Domingo Valls (?). Retable of the Two St. Johns. Church of the SS. Juanes, Albocácer 113
295. Domingo Valls (?). Entry into Jerusalem. Museum, Worcester, Mass. 117
296. Adoration of the Magi, Section of Retable. Diocesan Museum, Tarragona 119

✓297. Portrait of James I of Aragon. Provincial Museum, Barcelona . 121
298. Sts. Eulalia and Clara, Centre of Retable. Cathedral, Segorbe . 123
299. Retable of the Blessed Sacrament. Ermita de S. Bartolomé, Villahermosa 127
300. Resurrection, Section of Retable from Puebla Larga. Provincial Museum, Valencia 131
301. Sts. Francis and Catherine. Provincial Museum, Valencia . . . 132
302. St. Elizabeth of Hungary and Donor. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid 133
303. Retable of St. Bernard. Museo Arqueológico, Palma 139
304. Retable of St. Eulalia. Cathedral, Palma 143
305. Retable of St. Paul. Episcopal Palace, Palma 145
306. Left Half of Retable of Sts. Matthew and Francis. Oratorio de la Almoyna, Palma 147
307. Juan Daurer. Madonna. Parish Church, Inca 149
308. Juan Daurer (?). Coronation of the Virgin. Museo Arqueológico, Palma 151
309. Madonna and Angels. Sta. María del Puig, Pollensa 153
310. Francisco Comes (?). Salvator Mundi. Sta. Eulalia, Palma . . 155
311. St. George and the Dragon. Museo Arqueológico, Palma . . . 157
312. Retable. Church of Montesión, Palma 159
313. Sts. Anthony Abbot, Nicholas, and Clara, Central Section of Retable. Museo Arqueológico, Palma 160
314. Death of the Virgin. Sta. Eulalia, Palma 161
315. Section of Reliquary of Piedra. Academy of History, Madrid . . 165
316. Retable of Sts. Philip and James Minor. Plandiura Collection, Barcelona 169
317. St. Giles Visited by King and Bishop, Section of Retable. Cathedral, Tudela 171
318. Death of the Virgin, Section of Retable. Cathedral, Tudela . . . 173
319. *Noli Me Tangere*, Section of a Predella. Sánchez Collection, Madrid 176
320. Pedro Zuera. Coronation, Central Panel of Retable. Cathedral, Huesca 179
321. Central Panel of Retable of St. Helen. S. Miguel, Estella . . . 181
322. "Jacobus." St. Ursula. Plandiura Collection, Barcelona. . . . 183
323. Madonna and Child. Prado, Madrid 185
324. Central Panel of Retable of St. Catherine. Cathedral, Tudela. . 187
325. Virgin and St. Joseph, Section of Predella of St. Catherine Retable. Cathedral, Tudela. 188
326. Virgin-Martyr. Colegiata, Daroca 191
327. St. Michael. Parish Church, Pompenillo 193
328. Adoration of the Magi. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid 195

329. St. Michael Weighing Souls and Appearing to St. Gregory, Section of Retable of Arguis. Prado, Madrid 197
330. Central Panel of Retable of St. Anne. Colegiata, Alquézar . . 201
331. Retable of St. Andrew. Sta. María, Maluenda 205
332. Decapitation of St. Catherine, Section of Retable. Linares Collection, Madrid 207
333. Madonna and Angels. Lázaro Collection, Madrid 213
334. Madonna of Albalate. Museum, Saragossa 215
335. Madonna and Angels. Städel Art Institute, Frankfurt am Main. 217
336. Virgin of Mercy. Plandiura Collection, Barcelona 219
337. Rodríguez de Toledo (?). Pentecost, Chapel of S. Blas, Cathedral, Toledo. 223
338. Rodríguez de Toledo (?). The Heavenly Jerusalem and the Transfiguration, Chapel of S. Blas, Cathedral, Toledo. 225
339. Dello Delli. Annunciation. Old Cathedral, Salamanca 241
340. Dello Delli. Pregnancy of Virgin. Old Cathedral, Salamanca. . 243
341. Dello Delli. Healing of Leper. Old Cathedral, Salamanca . . . 245
342. Dello Delli. Background of the Journey to Emmaus. Old Cathedral, Salamanca. 247
343. Dello Delli. St. John Pointing out Christ. Old Cathedral, Salamanca 249
344. Dello Delli. Visitation. Old Cathedral, Salamanca 251
345. Dello Delli. Last Judgment, Fresco in Semidome of Apse of Old Cathedral, Salamanca 255
346. Dello Delli. St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Sta. Isabel, Salamanca . 257
347. Nicolás Francés. Via Dolorosa, Cloister of Cathedral, Leon. . . 265
348. Nicolás Francés. Nailing to the Cross, Cloister of Cathedral, Leon 267
349. Nicolás Francés. Visit of Alfonso III to St. Froilán. Cathedral, Leon 273
350. Nicolás Francés. Presentation of the Virgin. Cathedral, Leon . 275
351. Nicolás Francés. Crucifixion. Parcent Collection, Madrid . . . 288
352. Nicolás Francés and Assistants. Scenes from the Life of St. Francis, Section of Retable. Raimundo Ruiz Collection, Madrid . 291
353. School of Nicolás Francés. Crucifixion. John Nicholas Brown Collection, Providence 293
354. Juan de Burgos. Annunciation. Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 295
355. Virgen de la Antigua. Cathedral, Seville 299
356. Virgen de Rocamador. S. Lorenzo, Seville 301
357. Virgen del Coral. S. Ildefonso, Seville 303
358. Coronation, Sta. María, Arcos de la Frontera 307
359. Virgen de la Leche. Obrería del Cabildo, Cordova 309
360. García Fernández. Massacre of the Innocents. Sta. Úrsula, Salamanca 311
361. Virgen de los Remedios. Cathedral, Seville. 313

362. Johannes Hispalensis. Triptych. Lázaro Collection, Madrid . . 314
363. Annunciation, from Ubeda. Plandiura Collection, Barcelona . . 315
364. Two Episcopal Saints and *Lacería*, Frescoes in Patio de los Evangelistas, S. Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce 317
365. St. Jerome, Fresco in Patio de los Evangelistas, S. Isidoro del Campo, Santiponce 319
366. Diptych. Sta. Clara, Moguer 325
367. Circle of Nicolau. Salvator Mundi. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin 328
368. School of Nicolau. Pietà. Museum, Ghent 331

PART IV

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES

(CONTINUED)

CHAPTER XXX

THE SOURCES AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES AT VALENCIA

THE slowness of Valencia and of Andalusia to develop what could properly be called schools of painting seems to have been due to the comparatively late date at which these regions were freed from Moorish domination. Both provinces were reconquered by the Christians only in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and in each instance it required some hundred and fifty years before the inhabitants could devote themselves seriously to that one of the major arts which is most a luxury, painting. Castile and Leon were but slightly more productive pictorially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but there the retarding causes must have been different, and the previous Romanesque period had given birth to important cycles of frescoes. The real school of Valencian painting was not evolved until the end of the fourteenth century, for the importation of the Tusco-Byzantine Madonnas and the existence of isolated Franco-Gothic mural paintings and frontals at Liria cannot be taken as evidence of a definite artistic movement.

One may legitimately ask himself whether or how far the rise of Valencian painting was stimulated by the earlier achievements of the school of Barcelona. Certainly the first works in the Italianate style, the four panels of a retable coming from the Valencian guild of carpenters and dedicated to St. Luke, which were shown at the National Exposition of 1910 at Valencia,[1] were executed, probably in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, by a Catalan member of the circle of the Serras or by a close Valencian imitator. The subjects, identified by accompanying inscriptions in the Valencian dialect, are: St.

---

[1] The present resting place of the panels is unknown to me, and I am familiar with them only in the excellent photographs of Don Enrique Cardona of Valencia.

Luke made a disciple of St. Paul; St. Luke made a disciple of all the Apostles; his composition of the Gospel under the dictation of the Virgin (Fig. 249); and Our Lady holding his portrait of her. The somewhat rude style derives from Jaime rather than Pedro Serra, but the nearest analogue is the nursing Madonna of Torroella de Montgrí. The brocade of St. Luke's mantle is of the same general, delicate character as that employed habitually by Jaime. The group of the Apostles, in the panel depicting their reception of St. Luke, is already the typical crowd of so many mediaeval Catalan paintings, revealing only the tops of the heads in many of the figures. The theme of St. Luke is occasioned by the affiliation of at least some of the painters at this period with the carpenters. Indubitably by the same hand is a panel depicting the Nativity of Our Lord in the collection of the Hispanic Society at New York (Fig. 250). Upon the analogy in types, especially in the case of the Virgin, may be heaped such secondary Morellian identities as the combing of her hair so as to frame the face triangularly over the high forehead, the narrowness and heavy fall of the draperies in smooth expanses and few folds, the figuration of the haloes, the structure of Our Lady's crown, and the undiapered gold backgrounds. There exist also such very close similarities as the pattern of the Virgin's gold tunic, seen only in a small strip between the edges of the mantle; and this mantle both in the St. Luke and Hispanic Society panels is ornamented with a *motif* of a kind of embossed rosette. As another link in an artistic chain that might be considered to unite Valencia to Catalonia, we have already discussed the adaptations of the Serra cartoon for the Madonna of Humility, whether by Catalan or local masters, in S. Salvador, Valencia, and at Penellas, south of the capital.

Ferrer Bassa's last work was done for Valencia, and the attainments both of the Serra brothers and of Borrassá found other sporadic imitators in the Valencian domain. A painter, Guillermo Ferrer, who is known to have served in 1375 at Barcelona as Pedro Serra's procurator, was afterwards active from 1379 to 1415 in the territory of the Valencian school at Morella in the province of Castellón, making a legacy to Pedro or Pedro's heirs in his will. It was not, however, the style of

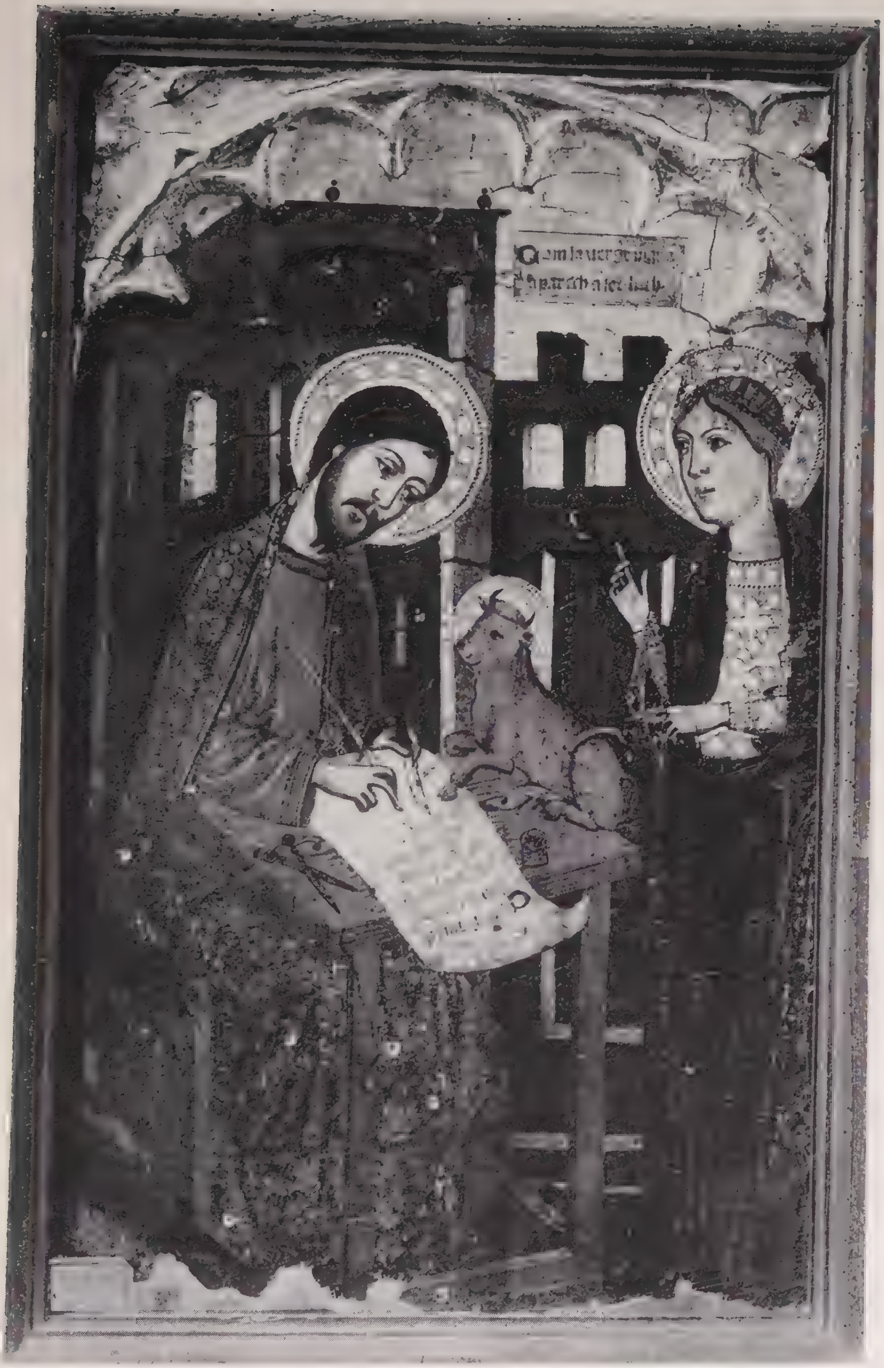

FIG. 249. ST. LUKE WRITING HIS GOSPEL, SECTION OF RETABLE OF VALENCIAN GUILD OF CARPENTERS

(Photo. Cardona)

Ferrer Bassa or of the Serras that eventually was perpetuated in the developed art of Valencia or established as its characteristic expression. The closest Catalan parallel to the pictorial production of the Valencian school of the end of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century is the "manner of Guimerá"; and the bearing of this similarity upon the problem of Lorenzo Zaragoza's connection with Valencian art has already been discussed. If it could be proved that Lorenzo Zaragoza was the sponsor of this manner both in Valencia and Catalonia, his dates would require us to postulate the existence of an important Valencian school of painting at least as early as the sixties of the fourteenth century, thirty years before the definite development of such a school can be concretely demonstrated by extant examples; but, in the perplexities that surround this master, we are far as yet from any vestige of solid evidence. The

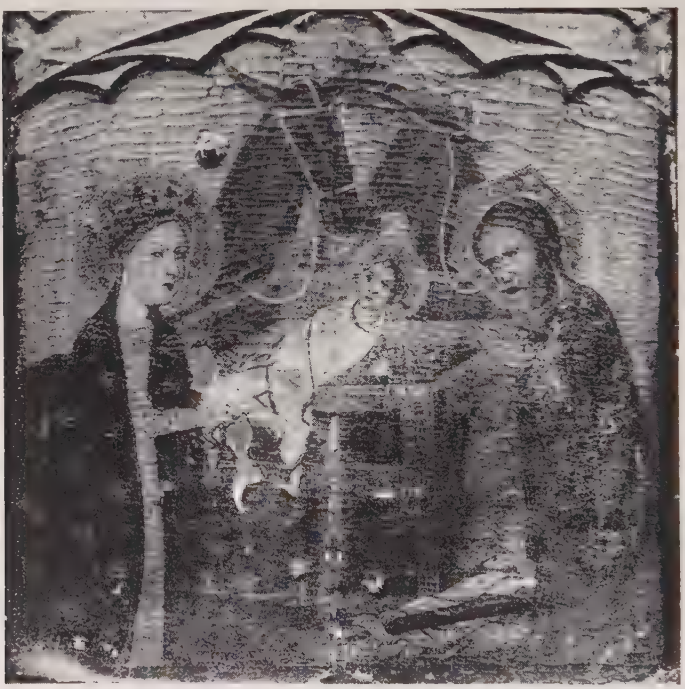

Fig. 250. THE NATIVITY. HISPANIC SOCIETY, NEW YORK

(Courtesy of the Hispanic Society)

general query that has been formulated above must also be left undecided: one may suspect, but there is nothing to demonstrate, that the Valencians learned their phase of the Guimerá manner from their Catalan rivals, instead of evolving it independently on similar Italian and French foundations. The Valencian phase differs from the Catalan, but the divergence does not preclude the possibility that the Valencians had acquired from Barcelona basic elements which in the ordinary course of things they would have modified to suit their own local aesthetic outlook. In the manner of which the retable of Guimerá was one expression it was not what there was of French *genre* and naturalism that met with favor at Valencia. It was the flow and swell of Gothic line and drapery, the gauntness of the Gothic types, and the religious exaltation that appealed to the Valencians and, so far as these qualities came from France itself and not via Siena, justify the critic in holding to the theory of at least some slight Gallic influence in addition to the Italian, whether or not the Gallic influence intruded directly or by Catalan channels.

A second factor differentiating the international movement in Valencia is that the Italian strain maintained itself in a purer form than in Catalonia. Throughout its whole history, even to the end of the seventeenth century, the painting of Valencia was more Italian in spirit and often in substance than that of any other Spanish centre, except the unimportant and short-lived school of Majorca. The ethereal and idealistic tone of Italian art is not so far reduced, as in Aragon or even in Catalonia, to Spanish terms. The tendency to *genre* is not so pronounced as in other provinces and manifests itself to no greater degree than in Italy. Although the Spanish love of conspicuous brocades is by no means absent, there is perhaps less flaunting of them than in any of the other schools of the peninsula. Further removed from the northern frontier, the school of Valencia reveals less contact with the art of France; in particular it was less accessible to the sprightly Gothic naturalism of the international manner.

The same reasons, in the first place, for indebtedness to Italy existed in Valencia as in Catalonia, the commercial relationship, signalized by the presence of a large number of Italian merchants, especially Florentine, and a very intimate connection with the papal court at Avignon. The desire to maintain Aragonese political influence at the transplanted Curia sent many Valencian ecclesiastics to Avignon in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the ties were the more closely cemented by the election in 1394 of the antipope of Aragonese family, Pedro de Luna, as Benedict XIII, to protect whom at Avignon Valencia actually dispatched a fleet in 1398. Record exists also of a counter artistic influence of Valencia at Avignon, in the ordering of Valencian tiles for the palace of the French cardinal, Aubert Andouin. As a further reason for indebtedness to Italian art, there is the highest degree of probability that the city gave employment to the brush of the Florentine painter, Gherardo di Jacopo Starnini, called lo Starnina. Vasari says that after the outbreak of the Ciompi at Florence in 1378 Starnina journeyed to Spain and there found favor with a king of whose name the Italian biographer is ignorant. Ceán Bermúdez adds the information that this king was John I of Castile (1379–1391). The unnamed Italian writer on art called the *Anonimo Magliabechiano*, prior to Vasari, states that he was honored with commissions not only in France but also in Spain. By 1387 he was back in Italy, for his presence at Florence is recorded in that year. With his sojourn in Castile we shall occupy ourselves later; the important point for our present consideration is that there is every likelihood that he returned to Spain and was in Valencia at the end of the century. Documents embody the facts that in 1395 Gerardo de Jacobo (in Latin, Gerardus Jacobi), a Florentine painter, was engaged in various legal transactions at Valencia (one of them connected with a retable which he had executed), that in 1398 and 1399 he was paid for certain pieces of painting (one of them in fresco) at Valencia, and that in 1401 he was among the artists who assisted in creating the decoration for the entrance of Martin the Humane into the city.[1] The Spanish name, Gerardo, and the surname, de Jacobo, are identical with those of Starnina, and the Florentine nationality and the profession are the same.

---

[1] He is called variously in these documents a painter of Florence or (according to the common practice for painters of the period when they resided a long time for business in another town) of Valencia.

Since, then, the chance that there were two Florentine painters called Gherardo di Jacopo who betook themselves to Spain is so slight as to be negligible, we may take it as virtually proved that Starnina was working in Valencia from 1395 to 1401. If Vasari's account is to be trusted, he repatriated himself again perhaps by 1403 and surely by 1406; at any rate he received an order at Empoli in 1408 and was buried at Florence the same year.

Inasmuch as no extant works can be certainly ascribed to Starnina's brush, it is perhaps hazardous to speculate as to what was the style that he unfolded to the eyes of the Valencians. No evidence is at hand to confirm Vasari's statement that he did the frescoes of the Castellani Chapel in S. Croce at Florence; but in any case there is nothing at València that corresponds with the still strongly felt reminiscences of Giotto's breadth and solidity that manifest themselves in this cycle, and the debt of Valencian painting is owed in the main rather to Siena. The tendency of modern criticism is to surmise that, in the character (according to Vasari) of the master of Masolino, Starnina was one of those progressive Giotteschi who made the transition to the new style of the Renaissance; but whatever be the truth in this aspect of the problem and whether or not he executed, as a younger man, the decidedly Giottesque frescoes of the Castellani Chapel, it is probable that eventually, like the other Florentine painters of the later Trecento, such as Agnolo Gaddi, Spinello Aretino, and the artist whom Vasari declares to have been Starnina's teacher, Antonio Veneziano, he acquired something of the Sienese strain which had percolated into Florentine art, so that the Valencians would already have been familiar with this phase of his manner. There is, indeed, a general and rather striking similarity between the Valencian style of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and that Florentine art of the end of the Trecento in which Sienese influences constitute an important ingredient; and one may venture the guess that the Valencians were acquainted with this kind of Florentine painting, if not through Starnina, at least through other contacts. The principal source of Valencian inspiration, however, remained Sienese. The only thing of even any slight significance that Vasari says concerning Starnina's manner is his inclination to introduce such bits of *genre* as the Spanish costumes that he had seen in his travels or the episode, from every-day life, of a boy being whipped; but it would probably have been his essential Gothicism that interested the Valencians and harmonized with their own artistic predispositions.

The Valencian school's sphere of activity and influence, whether through exportation of pictures or through imitation of the artistic developments in the capital by local painters of other districts, extended widely beyond the limits of the city itself, including the coastal region as far south as Murcia, the province of Castellón de la Plana between Valencia and Catalonia, and intruding into Aragon even as far as the province of Teruel. A few of the paintings found both in the district called the Maestrazgo, west of Castellón, and in the rest of the borderland between Valencia and Aragon reveal a fusion of the aesthetic traits of these provinces and possibly were done by local masters; but not enough evidence has as yet been unearthed to prove the existence of a separate school in this part of Spain, at least during the first half of the fifteenth century, and indeed purely Valencian pictures may be seen close to Teruel itself, for instance at Sarrión and Rubielos de Mora. Both because the early Valencian school has not been so carefully studied as the Catalan and because, in any case, fate does not appear to have preserved so many documents that permit us to connect extant paintings with known artists, we are confronted, for the most part, with the tantalizing phenomenon of anonymity. One of the factors that distinguishes Valencian from Catalan pictures is that the gilt backgrounds are not in general completely diapered but are decorated with a pattern, as indeed is occasionally true of Catalan works, only at the borders of the expanse of gold.

CHAPTER XXXI

VALENCIAN PAINTINGS EXHIBITING STRONG ITALIAN INFLUENCE

The retable of St. Lucy (Fig. 251) now in the first chapel at the right of the entrance to the parish church at Albal, just south of Valencia, but originally in the Ermita de Sta. Ana may be taken as an example of the Italianate manner before the characteristic Valencian style had become quite crystallized. The date cannot be much later than 1375. The central panel contains the standing effigy of the saint, and in the pinnacle above is the Crucifixion. The two lateral panels display in six compartments scenes from St. Lucy's life. She first kneels with her mother before a priest (at the shrine of St. Agatha?), while in the background is represented her vision of this virgin martyr, and she then dispenses her dowry to the poor; she is haled before the judge Paschasius by her rejected lover and imprisoned; Paschasius is lectured by her and ineffectually attempts to drag her to a brothel with oxen; she is tortured by fire and stabbed; she receives the viaticum, and her shrine after her death is visited by devotees; and finally her persecutor, Paschasius, is accused at Rome of peculation and decapitated. The pinnacles of the lateral sections are occupied by the angel and Virgin of the Annunciation. The outer uprights of the frame enshrine small effigies of angels, and the inner, Prophets. Although the retable is somewhat damaged, the bright color is well preserved. The backgrounds are of unpatterned gold. The style recalls distantly that of some such half-Sienese Florentine as Agnolo Gaddi, but it has been translated into the national idiom to such a degree that its source is partly obscured. Contemporary costume is conspicuous everywhere in the lateral compartments. Although no Catalan influence is apparent and although the technical level is not above mediocrity, the picture represents the same stage in Valencian painting as the production of Jaime Serra in the school of Barcelona. The shape and general arrangement of the altarpiece and even the style are paralleled in certain retables of Majorca, as, for instance, the example dedicated to St. Paul in the chapel of the Episcopal Palace, Palma, so that the critic is almost forced to believe either that the insular specimens were derived from an early Valencian group, of which the St. Lucy retable is the only or almost the only extant relic, or that the Albal altarpiece was, after all, not a product of the Valencian school proper but was painted by a Majorcan or at least directly based upon Majorcan achievement.

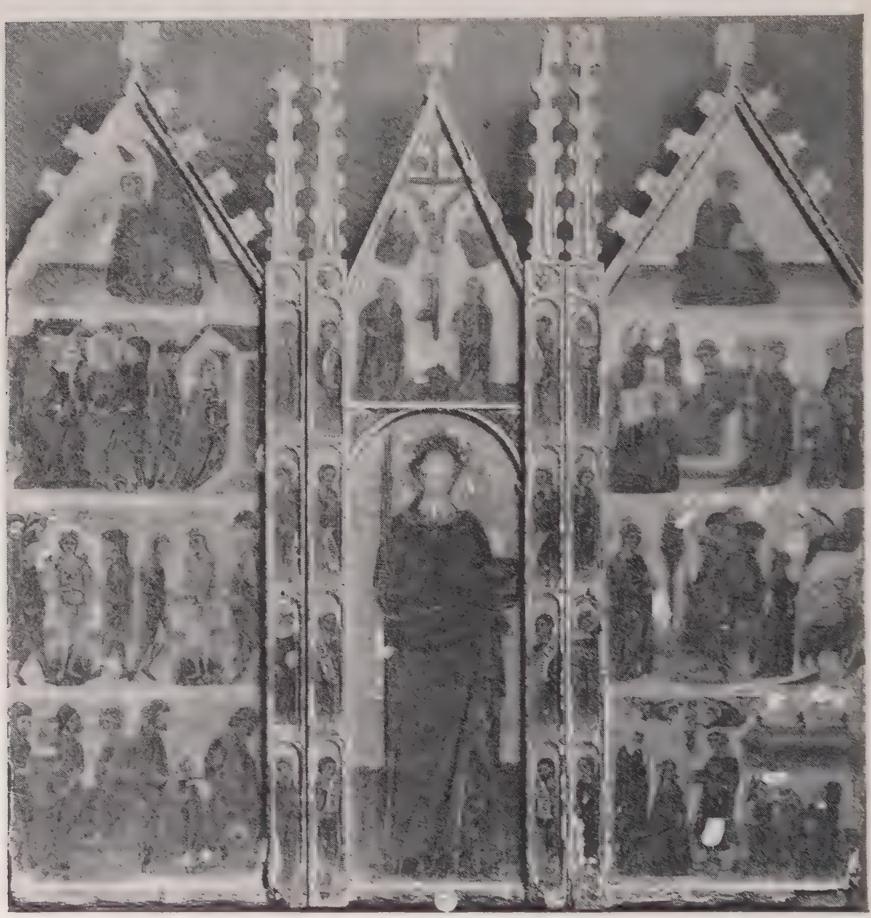

Fig. 251. RETABLE OF ST. LUCY (LATERAL SECTIONS REVERSED IN ILLUSTRATION). PARISH CHURCH, ALBAL

(Photo. Cardona)

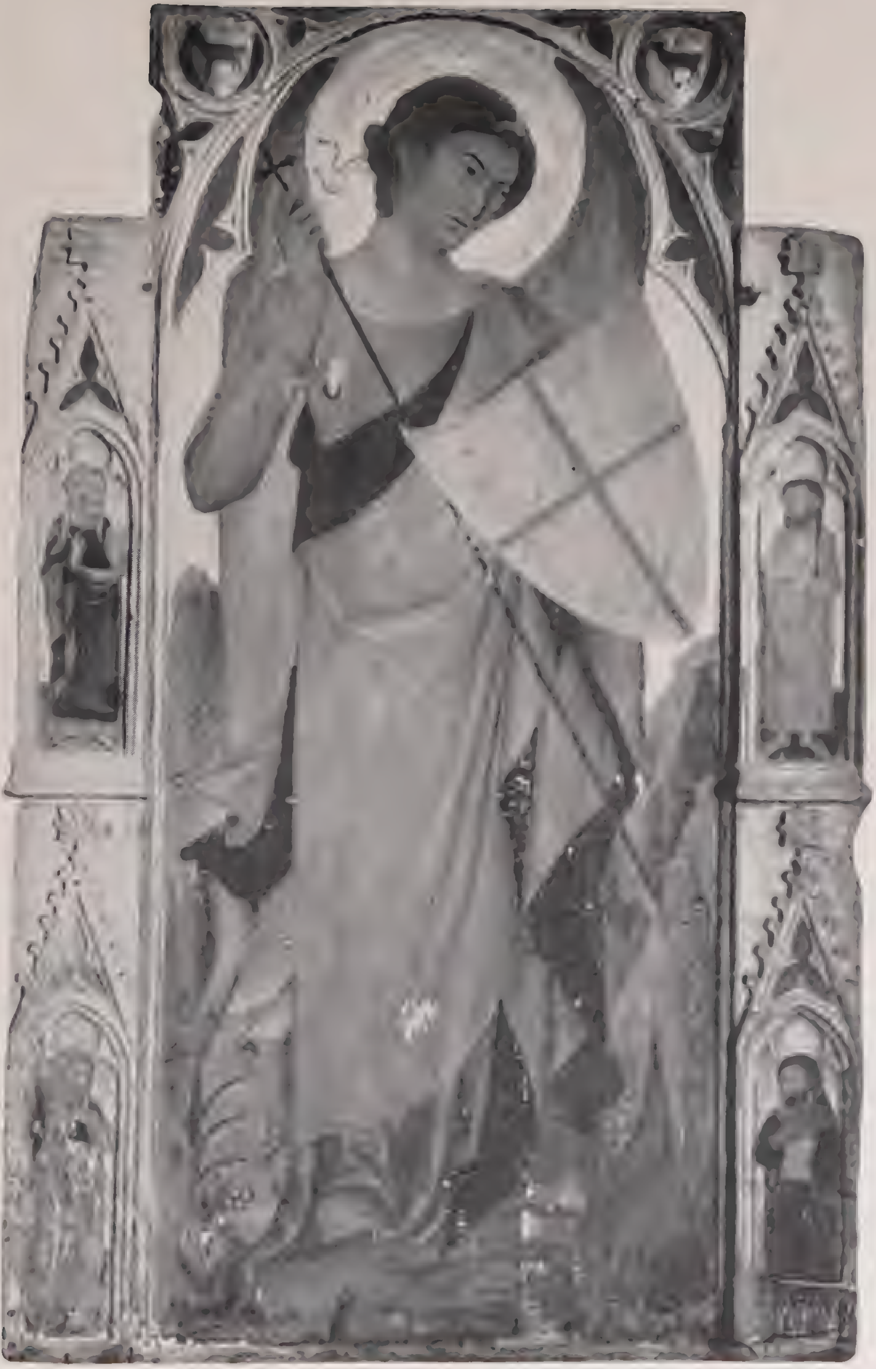

Fig. 252. ST. MICHAEL, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, SOT DE FERRER

(Photo Arxiu Mas)

To about the same moment belongs a more purely Italianate fragment of a retable in the church of Sot de Ferrer, just southeast of Segorbe, which contains a large figure of St. Michael combating the dragon and retains two of the uprights with four of the usual small sacred effigies (Fig. 252). St. Michael is not depicted as the dapper and vivacious warrior of the fifteenth century in contemporary armor but as a placid angel in the long-flowing, pseudo-classic draperies of the Italian Trecento. He stands in a landscape of rocks conventionalized according to the Italian mode of the day. The whole figure suggests the manner of the Florentine Giotteschi of the second half of the fourteenth century more tangibly than does the Albal altar, for the body has something of Giottesque sturdiness, the folds of the garments something of Giottesque breadth and simplicity, and yet, as often at Florence at this time, there is a Sienese cast to the countenance. The forms of the saints on the frame have the stubby proportions that appear here and there in the Albal retable, but it was not the Albal hand that worked for Sot de Ferrer.

The most renowned instance of a potent Italian influence, ushering in the fully evolved Valencian international style, is provided by the altarpiece in the Provincial Museum of the city from the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli (in the mountains west of Sagunto) (Fig. 253), the donor of which, represented as kneeling in the panel at the extreme left of the predella, is generally assumed to be Bonifacio Ferrer, who was the brother of the canonized archbishop of Valencia, Vincent Ferrer, entered the monastery in 1396, and was made prior in 1400. The conjecture is strengthened by the fact that the portrait of the donor is accompanied by two youths and is balanced at the extreme right of the predella by a panel depicting a beatified matron and seven daughters, for we know that Bonifacio had lost his wife and almost all of his seven daughters and four sons before seeking refuge from the world in the religious life. He might have acquired his first interest in Italian art at the time when he was studying jurisprudence in Italy, and this interest would have been still further stimulated by his frequent sojourns at Avignon beginning with 1402, when he was created general of the Carthusian Order by the antipope, Benedict

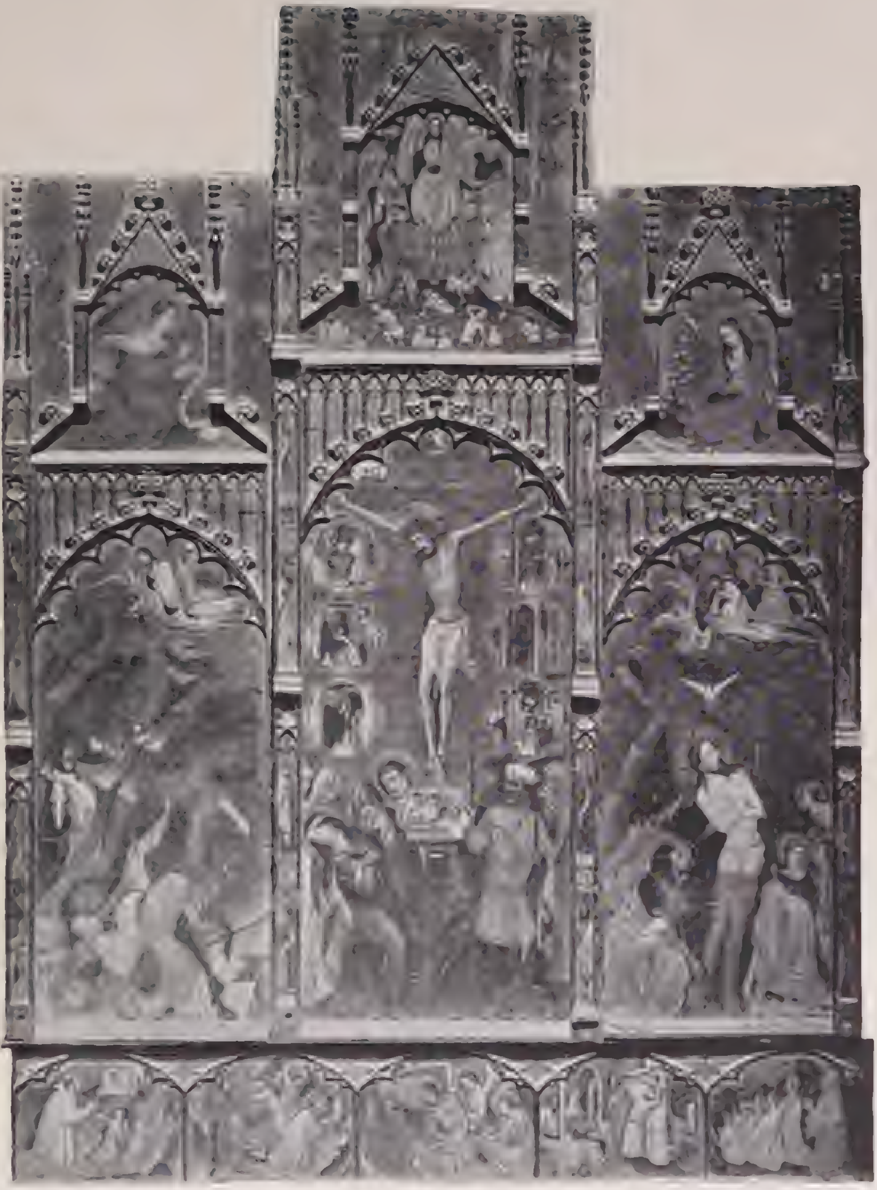

Fig. 253. RETABLE OF BONIFACIO FERRER. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

XIII. Stylistic considerations date the picture at the turn of the century. The central panel displays the Crucifixion surrounded by miniature-like representations of the Seven Sacraments; in the two lateral panels are the Conversion of St. Paul and the Baptism of Christ; the pinnacles contain the Last Judgment and the Annunciation; the predella, besides the panels of the donor and his family, the stoning of St. Stephen, the Pietà, and the decapitation of St. John Baptist; and the uprights of the frame are embellished with the usual galaxy of small effigies of sacred personages, here arbitrarily narrowed and drawn out in order to be compressed into the given spaces.

Because of the thoroughly Italianate style some critics have ascribed the retable actually to an Italian hand or even to Starnina. The Sienese qualities, similar to those which we have found in Catalan pictures of the epoch but more absolutely imitative, are so patent that it is scarcely necessary to rehearse them: the composition for the Crucifixion, with the prominence of the Centurion, like that which Simone Martini painted at Avignon, now at Antwerp, and which appears in Spanish painting as early as Ferrer Bassa; the Annunciation distributed in the Sienese fashion between two pinnacles and exhibiting a Sienese derivation also both in form and line; the analogies in the compositions for some of the Sacraments, as for Baptism, the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, to the frescoes of these themes by a follower of Simone, probably Roberto Oderisi, in the church of the Incoronata at Naples; the Sienese delight in prettiness, incorporated in the white-clad and rose-crowned forms of the donor's daughters; the Sienese conventionalization of the rocks; the parallelism to Sienese types in the aged saint (Peter?), who kneels at the right in the Last Judgment, in the effigies of holy personages on the frame, and in the elongated and curl-framed faces of the angels in the Baptism; and the cult of artfully flowing Sienese line. Yet one recognizes a Spanish tone and specific Spanish qualities which make it hard to believe that the retable was not the production of a local master or at least of an Italian who, like El Greco and other foreigners who have worked in the peninsula, had become strongly impregnated with the indigenous atmosphere. If the executer of the altarpiece was an Italian, there is nothing to help us in determining whether he was Starnina or not. It seems impossible, nevertheless, that any painter trained at Florence, however inconsiderable his natural gifts, should have sunk to a level of craftsmanship that is even below the standard of the better Spanish masters of the period. Yet the color has those unpleasantly violent contrasts of harsh tones which the French would describe by the adjective *criard* and which are characteristic of late Giottesque painting at Florence. If the author was a Spaniard, no valid reason exists for following some enterprising critics in attaching to the altarpiece the name of the unknown quantity, Lorenzo Zaragoza. In this instance, indeed, there is even slighter plausibility than usual in the attempt to recover his lost personality, for the style of the Portaceli retable is less whimsical and less Gallic than the Guimerá manner which Mayer wishes to relate to his brush. Almarche Vásquez has recently suggested with great reticence, as a remote possibility, the name of a painter whom the documents show to have been much the vogue at Valencia in the first part of the fifteenth century, Juan Esteve. The only shred of proof is the presence in the predella of scenes connected with the lives of Sts. John and Stephen, which, otherwise as yet unexplained, might conceivably be construed as a rebus-like substitution, by Juan Esteve, of his two patron saints for his signature; but the altarpiece is too early for at least the known dates of his activity, 1415 to 1435.

Among the typical Spanish characteristics of the retable, we may single out, first, for mention such manifestations of the national religious fervor, in the Baptism, as the very successfully rendered activity of St. John, who kneels in emotional devotion in contrast to the usual standing posture in the Italian iconography of the subject, and the introduction of God the Father bending out of the clouds in a most tender and convincing gesture. There is also evident the proclivity to force the compositions into formal design. In the Last Judgment, the numerous dead emerge from their graves in a symmetrical balance of figure for figure. In the Conversion of St. Paul, there is a sequence of an alternation of rocks and human forms across the face of the panel, and the falling St. Paul is cast into a position in which one straight arm balances a straight leg and the curved arm the curved leg. The portrait-like character of the Centurion in the Crucifixion and the realistic position of the child in the Sacrament of Baptism may be taken as examples of Spanish naturalism. The cartouches of the Sacraments, which, like miniatures, are more simply, prettily, and carefully rendered than the rest of the retable, necessarily involve some introduction of contemporary life, particularly in the really solemn conception of Penance and the really charming representation of Marriage; but the only detail that suggests *genre* in the larger scenes is the lion that emerges from the rocks in the Baptism of Christ, here a symbol for the wilderness in which St. John lived. The Spanish impress is also embodied in the golden coat of mail worn by St. Paul's foremost mounted companion and in the delicate design of small gold circles which completely covers the tunic of the angel of the Annunciation and which, though a different pattern, recalls the method of Jaime Serra.

Until further light is shed upon the provenience, we may temporarily follow Mayer in placing within a decidedly Italianate phase of Valencian production a large and handsome panel of the Madonna and Child, apparently painted towards the end of the fourteenth century and probably once the centre of a retable, in the collection of Don José Garnelo at Madrid (Fig. 254). As far as the stylistic evidence goes, it might be put down with equal justice as Catalan or Aragonese, and indeed I know nothing quite exactly analogous to the types either in the Valencian, Catalan, or Aragonese schools. A Catalan origin would be suggested by the fact, kindly vouchsafed me by Señor Garnelo, that the picture, when he bought it, bore a tag of the railway or express showing that it had been shipped to Madrid from Lérida; but Mayer, on what grounds I am not informed, states that the panel once found a resting place in the region of Teruel — a district open to the Valencian artistic trade — and, although the ethereal qualities of Valencian art are absent, no internal factors present themselves that are absolutely at discord with Valencian affiliations. An argument in favor of the Valencian school is the presence of Sts. Benedict and Bernard kneeling at the foot of the throne, who, as the two patrons of the Military Order of Montesa, might indicate that the picture was executed for the castle of these knights, just southwest

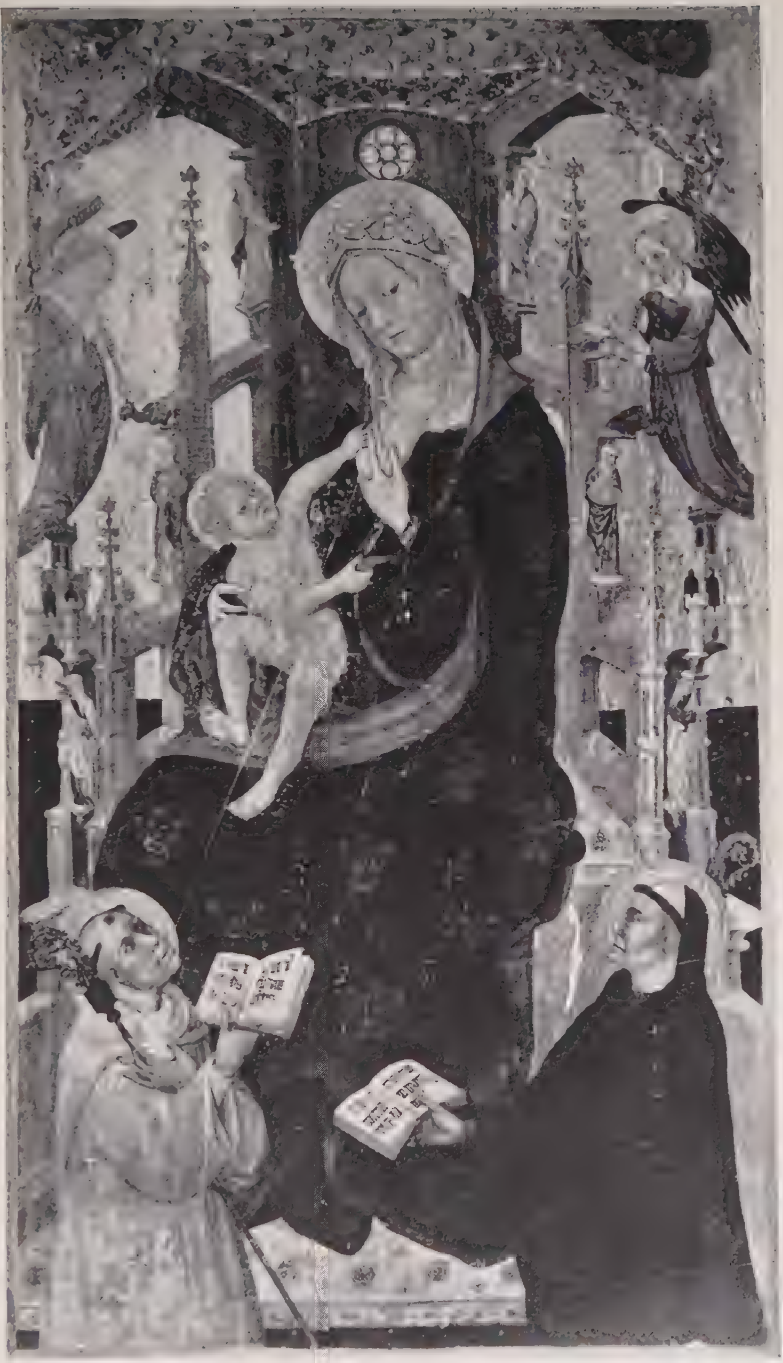

Fig. 254. MADONNA WITH STS. BENEDICT AND BERNARD. GARNELO COLLECTION, MADRID

(Photo. Lladó)

of Játiva, in out-and-out Valencian territory. Valencia and Montesa lie at a considerable distance from Teruel, but, as they are all in the same general section of Spain, Mayer's informant may have vaguely described Montesa as in the region of Teruel, particularly since Montesa is not at Valencia itself but in the province; or one of the stops in the journey of the panel from Montesa to Madrid may have been Teruel. The provenience from Montesa cannot be conclusively demonstrated and is merely a persuasive hypothesis. Sts. Benedict and Bernard indeed would be quite as likely constituents of a work done for any Cistercian institution as of a picture ordered for Montesa.

The Virgin and Child are exalted upon one of the elaborate Gothic thrones that are so frequent an element in the painting of eastern Spain during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among its decorative elements, which include even gargoyles, most conspicuous are the figures of six Apostles painted so as to simulate polychrome statuettes set on corbels in contrast to the monochrome with which the Flemish were later to counterfeit sculpture in their pictures. These Apostles are a very palpable reflection of Italian art of the Trecento. Over the top of the throne is spread a Moorish fabric upheld on each side by the hand of an angel, the rest of whose body does not appear in the picture although there is no indication of the panel having been cut down. The red-lined blue mantle of the Mother is brocaded with the *motif* of a crown-encircled bouquet of roses. The dressing of the Child in only a diaphanous veil is another of the close links with Italy.[1] The throne is flanked by a pair of fluttering angels blowing upon flutes and incarnating the gentle charm with which so many Spaniards of this period managed to invest such forms. Sts. Benedict and Bernard, kneeling below, hold each an open book, and, marked by a sternness like that of Ferrer Bassa, they are Trecento types that constitute one of the most decisive reasons for assigning the panel to the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth century. With the figure of Bernard as a constituent of the subject of the Madonna and saints is strangely combined the frequent narrative theme of the moistening of his lips with the Virgin's milk. The Child assists in the emission of the milk through pressure upon His Mother's breast and thus imparts to the conception an almost morbid stress that we shall meet again in the altarpiece of Sto. Domingo at Valencia. The gold background is undiapered except for two or three blossoms at its lower edge, evidently imagined as growing up from the flowered earth behind the throne.

---

[1] See vol. II, p. 314.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MORE INDIGENOUS FORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AT VALENCIA · PEDRO NICOLAU AND CERTAIN PAINTINGS CONTEMPORARY WITH HIM · HIS SUCCESSORS

1. Introduction

In taking up the more essentially indigenous form of the international style at Valencia, the following classifications may be attempted in the abundant and confused mass of material, of which so much must still, to any really scientific criticism, remain anonymous. A first class, of which one of the principal exponents was probably Pedro Nicolau, may be made of the works wherein Italian borrowings are merged with a style like that of the Catalan "manner of Guimerá." This class may be subdivided into two groups of paintings: those done at the end of the fourteenth century and approximately in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, i. e., the works contemporary with the activity of Pedro Nicolau; and the group of paintings executed after about 1420 in the first half of the fifteenth century. A second class may be constituted of the works in which the Valencian counterpart of the "manner of Guimerá" is merged with affinities to German art. This style apparently had its fountain-head in the Teutonic master, a contemporary of Nicolau at Valencia, Andrés Marzal de Sas; but, inasmuch as the examples of an unadulterated form of the style after 1420 are very few, it will not be so necessary here to consider chronological subdivisions. The workshop or workshops that I have grouped with the name of Pedro Nicolau, however, were naturally not immune from influences emanating from the production of Marzal de Sas and his followers; and since, at Valencia, it seems to have been often the practice for two or more painters to collaborate and since, in particular, there is definite information that Nicolau and Marzal were sometimes partners, their two manners were interwoven and confused. The classification attempted in this book aims merely at separating into their respective groups the works in which the Teutonic tendency may be seen and those from which it is absent, and it is quite possible that discoveries in the future will upset the arrangement, which is made only for the sake of convenience, and that the paintings here hypothetically assigned to Nicolau or his *entourage* may turn out to have been done by Marzal alone or in collaboration, and *vice versa*. The one painting that can with anything like certainty be assigned to Nicolau is merely a fragment, the centre of a retable depicting the Madonna and musical angels; and inasmuch as in the pictures of the Germanizing group the Teutonic elements sometimes do not appear in such themes as the Virgin with angels but only in the narrative compartments, it is quite within the range of credibility that the lateral panels of this production of Nicolau would have revealed the Germanic traits and that he never painted apart from the influence of Marzal de Sas. The same statement might be made of certain other works that have here been aligned in the group connected with Nicolau, for several of them are also only single panels. The justest arrangement perhaps would have been to make one class of Nicolau and Marzal, but it would not have been the most lucid. A third class will consist of the pictures in which, during the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the harshness of the Germanizing manner is transmuted by being relaxed and ennobled and in which, therefore, may be observed a kind of foundation for the more placid art of the great master of the middle of the century, Jacomart. In the interests of clarity the Valencian paintings that betray Catalan influence may be gathered into another group, and under a final heading may be placed the pieces that do not reveal characteristics sufficiently specific to entitle them to be attached to any of the other categories.

2. PEDRO NICOLAU

The first phase of indigenous Valencian painting which presents itself for discussion is that in which Italianism is modified by an accretion of elements appearing also in the "manner of

Guimerá." In order, wherever it is possible, to connect a given style with a definite name, it is convenient to consider first the works that wrongly or rightly have been attributed to one of the most prominent artists in the Valencian documents of about 1400 as a recipient of many important commissions, Pedro Nicolau, whose activity may be traced from 1390 into the first decade of the fifteenth century. To him, with a high degree of probability, may be ascribed a retable of which the central panel of the Madonna enthroned among angels (Fig. 255) still exists in the parish church of Sarrión (southeast of Teruel), for he is recorded to have been paid for an altarpiece in this church on August 30, 1404.[1] The other parts of the retable, which were sold from the church a decade ago and, according to the latest report, were somewhere in Barcelona, I have never been able to locate. The picture of the Madonna and angels is now set into an altar at the left of the nave in the church of Sarrión, and is protected ordinarily from the vulgar eye by a panel that displays a poor copy of the original work that lies behind it. Since the subjects of the retable that Pedro Nicolau did for Sarrión are not recorded and since it is conceivable that the notice might refer to an altarpiece in the church other than that containing the Madonna and angels, the documentation is not perfect; but the panel now in the church is certainly contemporary with Nicolau's activity, and it does not seem likely that two important retables would have been ordered at the same moment by a church of so small a town.

In merit the picture is wholly worthy of a painter of Pedro Nicolau's renown. The delicate drawing is not that of any artistic hack but of a master. According to a frequent custom of the Valencian school in the first half of the fifteenth century, the seated Virgin and Child, as in Simone Martini's *Majestas*, are surmounted by a canopy of cloth upheld by light poles. The angels around the throne make music or adore; but at the front, again as in Simone's great prototype, two kneeling angels offer flowers, the one at the left, roses, the one at the right, lilies. Nowhere is gold of finer quality more beautifully used for Gothic illumination of an altarpiece. The gold background,

---

[1] The date is thus given by Sanchis y Sivera, *Estudis universitaris catalans*, VI (1912), 243; it is usually set down as 1408.

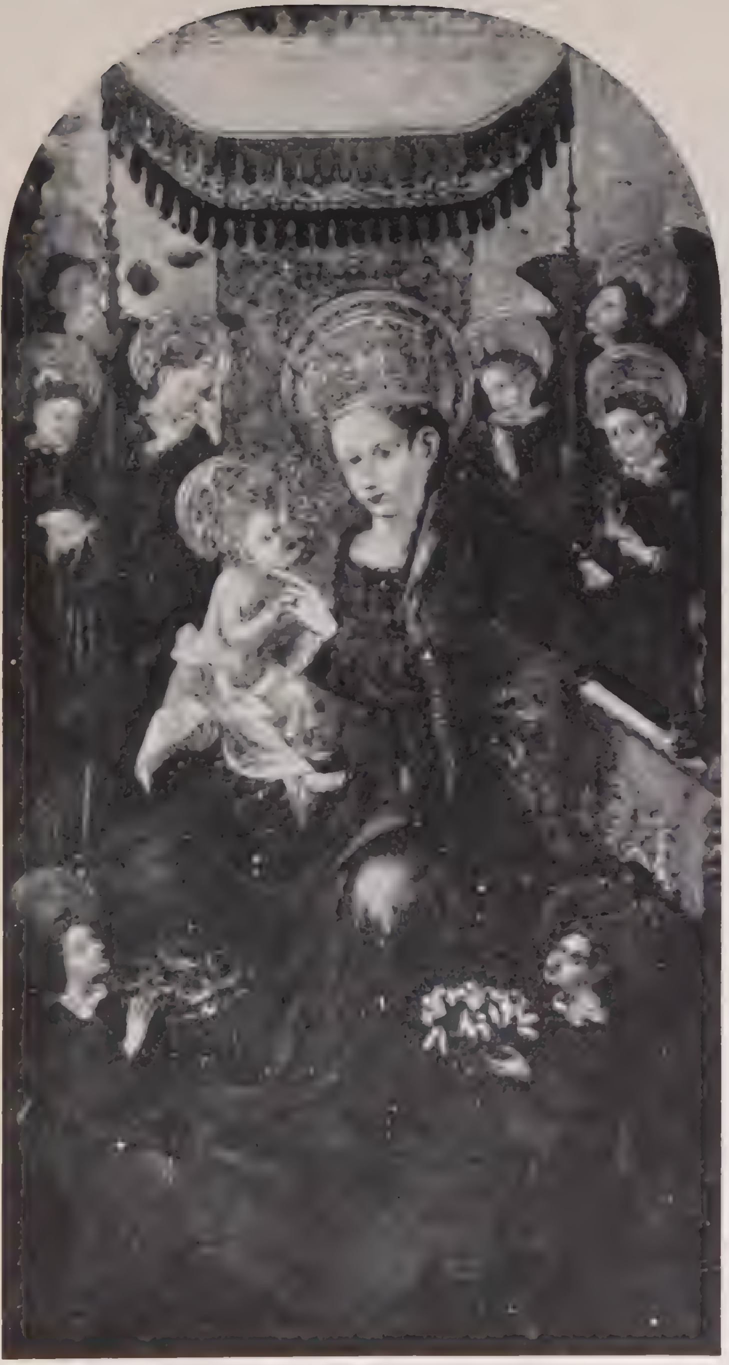

FIG. 255. PEDRO NICOLAU (?). MADONNA AND ANGELS.
PARISH CHURCH, SARRIÓN

after the Valencian fashion, is patterned only at the borders. The canopy and the Virgin's tunic are made of gold brocade, and her blue mantle is edged with gilt. Although the types slightly resemble certain of those that may be seen in the early Sienese Quattrocento, no direct dependence upon Italian art is any longer apparent, and the similarities are the result of the fact that both Sienese and Valencian painting of the beginning of the fifteenth century were partially evolved from the Sienese manner of the Trecento. But the Valencian spirit has now kneaded this Sienese contribution into a thoroughly indigenous style. The change into something new and different has been wrought, too, by the leaven of the early aspects of French internationalism as they appeared in the "manner of Guimerá." The lower half of the Virgin's mantle, for instance, expands into a breadth of lovely Gothic undulation that recalls the contemporary sculpture of northern Europe. The whole panel is executed with the freshness of an artistic movement that has just realized its own independent existence and its potentialities. One of the most delightful elements is the winsome Child with His pertly upturned head and crisply drawn draperies.

The present writer knows of two other uses of the same cartoon. One, in the Gualino Collection at Turin, may be ascribed to the Sarrión hand without much scruple (Fig. 256). Except for the subtraction of two angels at the top and the addition of six at the bottom and except for the diapering of two of the half-crosses so characteristic of the sides of Valencian gold backgrounds, the composition is identical even in such minute details as the architecture of the throne, the Virgin's crown, her right hand, and the delineation of the flowers. The type of Our Lady is somewhat different, but scarcely enough so to offset the similarity of the angels.

An attribution to the Sarrión hand cannot be predicated with such security in the case of the second example, a distinguished panel in the small room of the Louvre assigned to the Spanish primitives (Fig. 257), the composition of which is again identical except that the positions of all the figures in the Sarrión and Gualino pictures are now reversed from left to right and there are eight angels above and two below. Two other large panels (Fig. 258) of the same altarpiece, quite as fine in craft, are kept

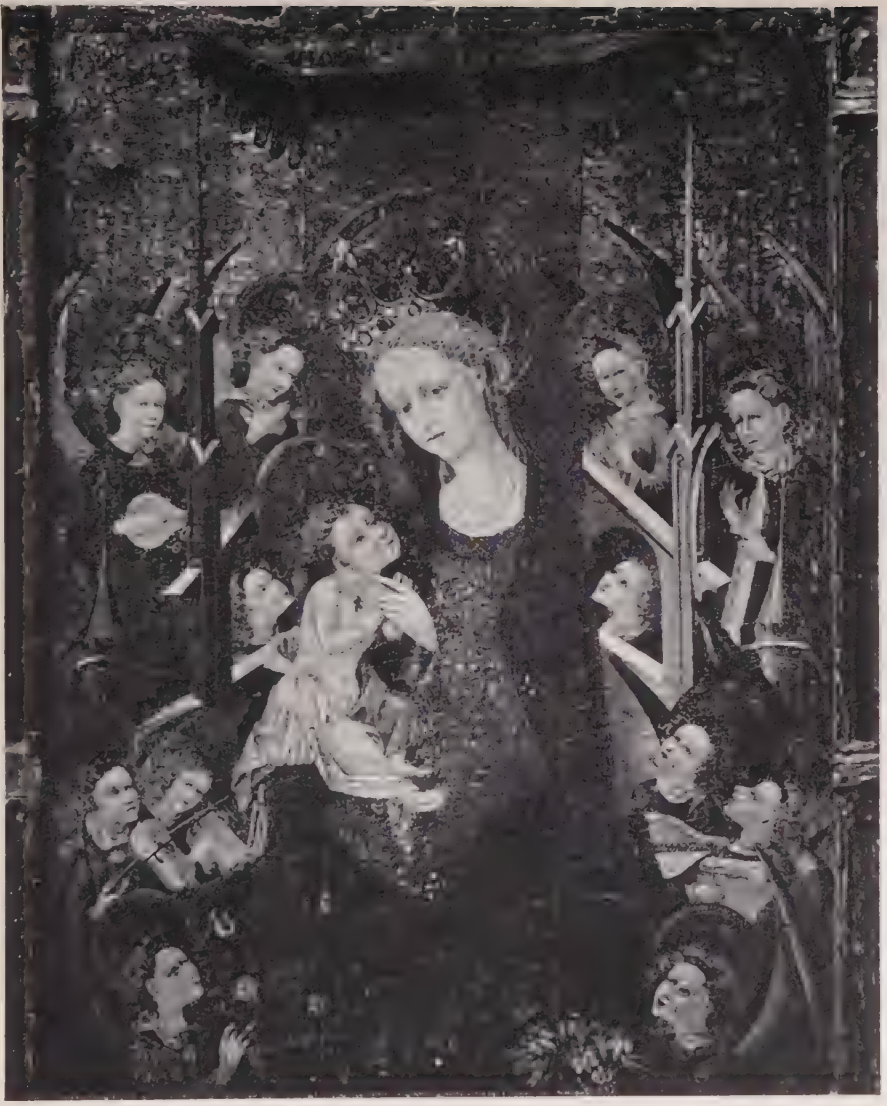

FIG. 256. PEDRO NICOLAU (?). MADONNA AND ANGELS. GUALINO COLLECTION, TURIN

(Courtesy of Mr. Lionello Venturi)

in the *magasin* of the Louvre, effigies of St. John Baptist and of an unidentified canonized bishop against the customary gold backgrounds, but with a Valencian landscape of the Sienese type interposed between the gold and the Precursor and a Gothic balustrade between the gold and the episcopal worthy. Although the three pieces are reported to have come from the environs of Soria in Castile, the style of the lateral panels unites with that of the central compartment to prove indisputably that the author belonged actually and purely to the school of Valencia and not to that of Castile or of Aragon (the borders of which lie close to Soria), whatever his birth may have been, wherever after his training at Valencia he exercised his art, and however difficult the provenience is to explain. The only factor that might suggest a member of the Aragonese school building upon Valencian precedent is a certain richness of tonality in each of the three panels; but this consideration is outweighed by the absolutely Valencian character of all the rest. On the ground of the similarity of the cartoon to that of Sarrión, Tormo definitely claims the work for Pedro Nicolau;[1] but, although the Child is closely analogous, the types now not only of the Virgin but also of the angels render the attribution, if not impossible, in any case unlikely. The maturity of style must date the Soria picture at least ten years after the Sarrión panel, but it is hard to believe that it is even a late work of the same hand. The propriety of assigning it to the second, if not to the third, decade of the fifteenth century will be apparent if the Madonna is set beside the strikingly but fortuitously similar Virgin Annunciate of Borrassá's St. Clara retable, which was complete by 1415. It would naturally be discussed among the later examples of that manner with which the name of Nicolau is connected, but it finds its place at this point because of its intimate relation to the Sarrión and Gualino pieces. It might, indeed, have been logically grouped with the Germanizing class, for the episcopal saint resembles such a type as the St. Clement (with St. Martha) in the cathedral of Valencia, and the angels have their partial analogues in the various representations of St. Barbara in the Bosch altarpiece. Such community of traits simply demonstrates how one workshop inevitably influenced another,

---

[1] *Las tablas de las iglesias de Játiva*, 39, n. 1.

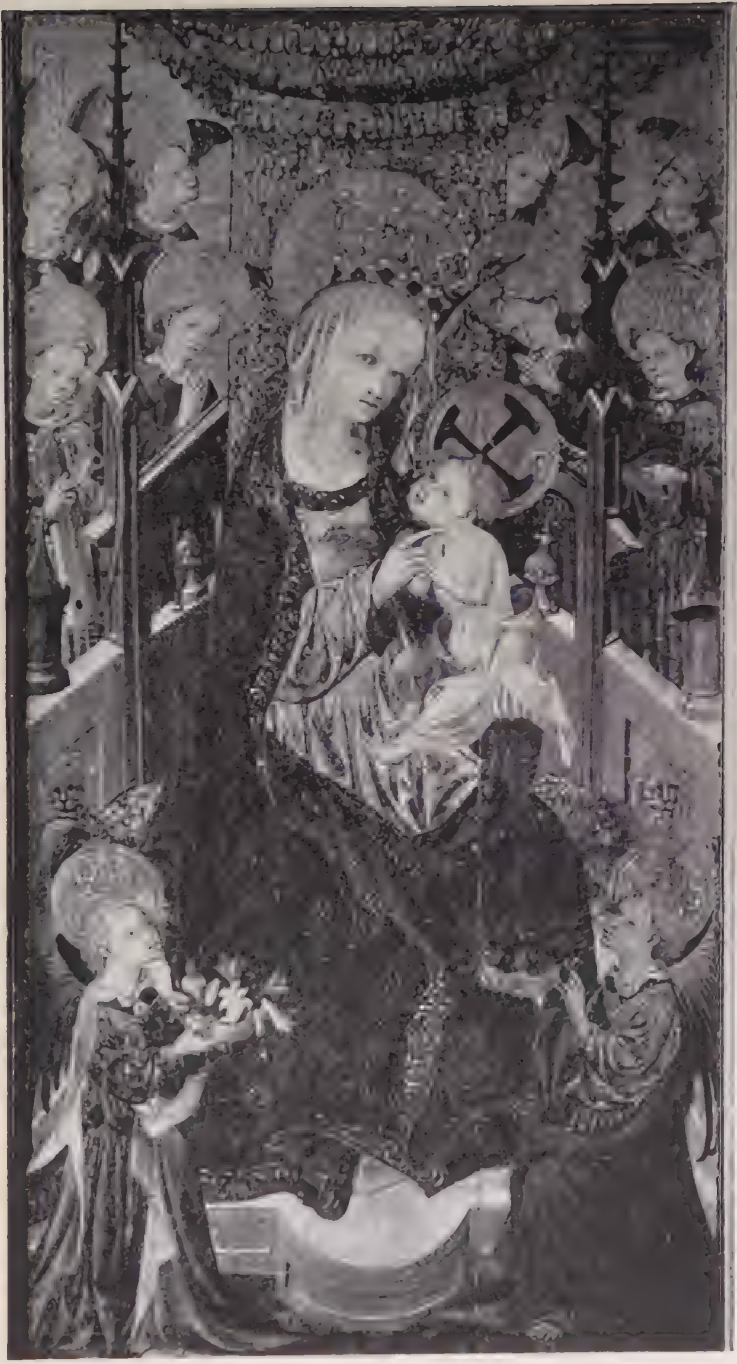

Fig. 257. VALENCIAN SCHOOL. MADONNA AND ANGELS. LOUVRE, PARIS

(Photo. Giraudon)

how cartoons were interchanged, how representatives of different tendencies collaborated on the same altarpiece, or how, after all, the production of one atelier about equalled stylistically that of another, each atelier sharing in the Teutonic strain but here emphasizing it and there subordinating it.[1]

The sacristy of the cathedral of Valencia contains a charming panel, once a section of a retable, in which a composition somewhat less like that of Sarrión is reduced to smaller size and adapted to a horizontal space (Fig. 259). The canopy is a replica of the specimen in the Sarrión and Louvre pictures; but it is here, exactly as in Simone's *Majestas*, actually upheld by two of the angels, and the flower-bearing angels are absent. Although the picture is contemporary with the Sarrión piece and is an example of the same general Gothic style, the types are different from those of Sarrión, as well as from those of the Louvre example, and they resemble to a greater degree the figures of the "manner of Guimerá," except that they possess the more ethereal quality that sometimes distinguishes the art of Valencia from that of Catalonia. The draperies, as compared with the Sarrión piece, also have the sharper curves that are characteristic of so much international painting throughout Europe at this period. The panel is very like the productions of the contemporary schools of Cologne, Verona, and Venice, and recalls, particularly in the pretty color, the work of Don Lorenzo Monaco at Florence. The tunics of two of the angels already display the black and gold brocades that Jacomart was later to popularize at Valencia. Tormo[2] merely guesses that its author may have been Domingo Crespi, an illuminator whose activity may be traced from 1382 to 1438 and who worked for the cathedral; and I can discern no points of stylistic contact with his miniatures in the book of the *Consulat de Mar* preserved in the Municipal Archives of Valencia and dated 1409.

A similarity to the cathedral piece appears in the angels that surround the Coronation in a finely executed panel that Mayer publishes in his *Geschichte*[3] as having entered from Valencia an unnamed private collection at Madrid. The draperies, however, have the long sinuosities of the Catalan retable of Guimerá, and the picture, in general, is one of the most pronounced

---

[1] See Appendix.

[2] *Levante*, 95.

[3] Second edition, p. 34, abb. 22.

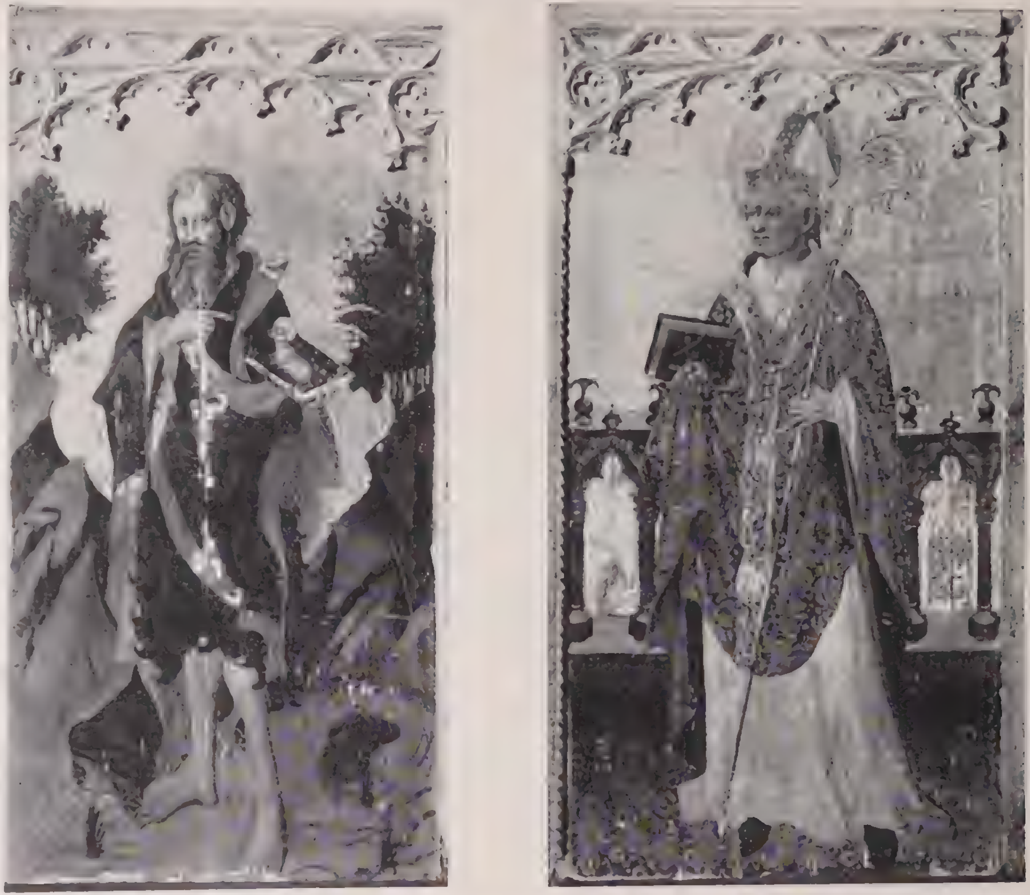

Fig. 28. VALENCIAN SCHOOL. ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND AN EPISCOPAL SAINT. LOUVRE, PARIS

(Photo. Archives Photographiques, Paris)

examples of the close relation between the "manner of Guimerá" and this phase of Valencian painting.

The retable of the Holy Cross in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, seems to me to have been wrongly ascribed to Pedro Nicolau, and its discussion will be found under the group of paintings connected with the name of Marzal de Sas. Tormo has sought to come to the aid of Pedro Nicolau's scanty artistic legacy by assigning to him the retable from the ex-monastery of Sto. Domingo at Ollería, south of Játiva, now No. 31 in the Museo Diocesano, Valencia.[1] I confess to an inability to discern anything that links it intimately with the Sarrión panel, but I am willing to place it in the general group of works similar in style. The central panel, original predella, and *guardapolvos* are gone, but the rest is preserved — between the central space and the predella (by an unusual but not unparalleled structure for a retable) a smaller panel depicting St. Michael presiding over the resurrection of the dead, six lateral compartments surrounding these two central sections and relating the story of the Passion, Christ enthroned upon the rainbow in the midst of four angels with instruments of the Passion in the panel above the central space, in the three pinnacles the Crucifixion and Annunciation, and on the spandrels beside the Crucifixion two angels with escutcheons. There are some traces of retouching, as on the St. Michael. The painting of the present predella and *guardapolvos* is miserable handiwork of the sixteenth century. If it were possible to study the lateral panels of the Sarrión retable, some exact analogies to the altarpiece of Ollería might be forthcoming; but it is the better part of the critic's valor to abide by that discretion which admits the picture only to Pedro Nicolau's circle. For one thing, Pedro Nicolau (if he be the painter of the Sarrión panel) is a more gifted artist. The Sarrión style is also less Italianate. In the Ollería retable Italianism is not so vital an ingredient as in the Bonifacio Ferrer altarpiece, but it is nevertheless present, being most tangible in the Christ of the Judgment and of the lateral compartment depicting His Resurrection. The Ollería picture is one of those Valen-

---

[1] Barberá Sentamáns, in his Catalogue of the Diocesan Museum, suggests, for what reason I do not know, that it may have been originally the retable of the high altar of the cathedral at Játiva.

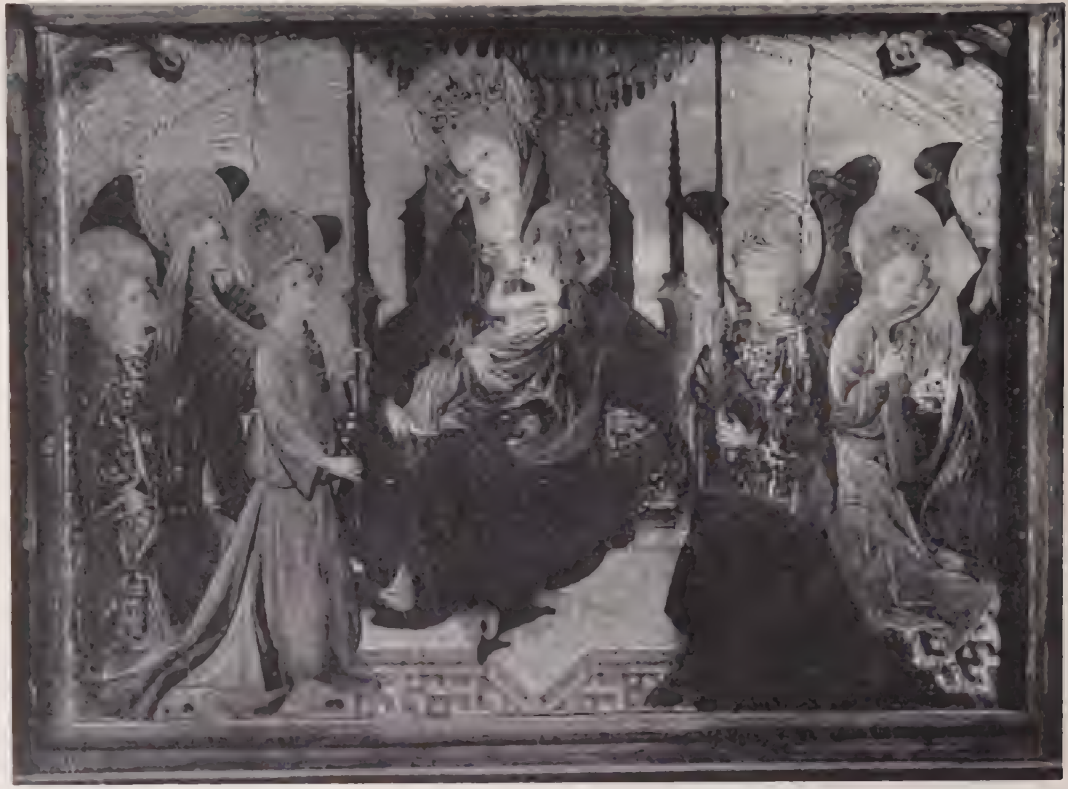

Fig. 259. MADONNA AND ANGELS. CATHEDRAL, VALENCIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

cian monuments the style of which resembles the last gasp of Giottesque painting at the end of the Trecento. The angularity of the types and the violence of expression are witness to this relationship. The influences pouring in from the Gothic of northern Europe made for the same ends, but there is no evidence that these influences were, as in the case of the partially similar retable of the Holy Cross in the Provincial Museum, Germanic. Here and there the rich international costumes emerge, as on the Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea in the Entombment. The best passages, technically, occur in the pretty, miniature-like painting of the draperies.

3. WORKS IN THE SAME GENERAL STYLE AS THOSE OF NICOLAU

Among the other works that belong to the same moment in the evolution of the Valencian school and to the same general though not specific style, there deserves first mention a large panel depicting the Transfiguration, with four small effigies of saints still remaining on the frame (Fig. 260), evidently once the centre of a retable, now in the town-hall of Chiva de Morella but originally in the parish church of this village, which lies just north of Morella itself in the district west of Castellón de la Plana known as the Maestrazgo. Its interest is concentrated chiefly in the fact that it has been connected with a definite name. Tramoyeres Blasco[1] has assigned it to a painter of Morella, Jaime Çareal or Sareal, who is known by a document of 1402 to have been working at Valencia as assistant to Pedro Nicolau. The grounds for the attribution are most unsubstantial, merely the considerations that the picture exists in the region from which Çareal had come and that it is executed in the Valencian manner of the beginning of the fifteenth century, of which Çareal, as a disciple of Nicolau, would probably have been one of the exponents. The draperies have the Gothic amplitudes and angularities of Valencian art of the period, but the style has no strict affiliations with the Sarrión picture. There are no means of determining whether the artist of the

---

[1] He wrongly identifies the subject as the Ascension, but the presence of Moses and Elijah plainly demonstrate it to be the Transfiguration, a customary theme in churches dedicated to the Saviour, as was the church of Chiva de Morella.

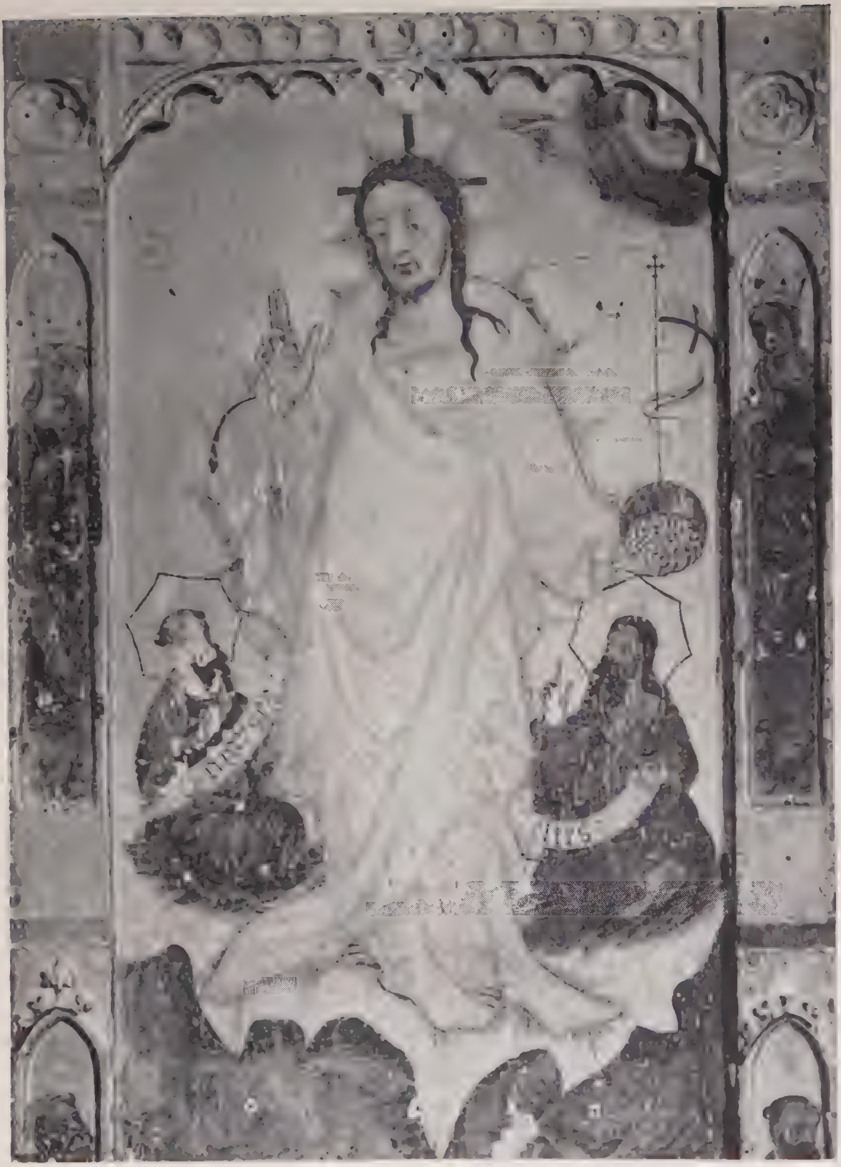

FIG. 260. TRANSFIGURATION. TOWN-HALL, CHIVA DE MORELLA

(Photo. Cardona)

Maestrazgo is identical with a painter Jaime Careal mentioned in 1432 as a resident of Saragossa and as there receiving payment for the exercise of his profession.[1]

Without straining a point, one may perhaps recognize some connection between the Ollería altarpiece and the retable of St. Michael in a chapel of the north section of the ambulatory in the cathedral of Murcia but formerly in the Capilla de los Puxmarines in the cloister. Above the central panel of the figures of the red-clad St. Michael and the dragon, which are better drawn than the other forms in the monument, is placed an unusually large Crucifixion; at the sides are twelve scenes of the legend of St. Michael and of the activities of angels; the two lateral pinnacles are occupied by the Annunciation; the uprights of the frame are decorated with the customary small effigies of saints; and there is (at least now) no regular predella but simply a frieze divided into polylobed medallions, the three central ones containing Christ of the Pietà, the Virgin, and St. John, and the remaining ten exhibiting half-lengths of other sacred personages. The lateral compartments, for the most part, display the subjects that were customary in retables of St. Michael, three of them, for instance, being devoted to the Monte Gargano story; but a few themes are unusual. In the first compartment at the right in the second row, an angel, perhaps St. Michael, offers a soul to Our Lord encompassed by a mandorla, to the discomfiture of a devil who stands at the side; and in each of the two compartments in the corresponding row at the left, an angel protects a soul from a demon, although the figure of Christ is absent. In the topmost row, at the left, the celestial hierarchies are depicted adoring the Pantocrator. In the scene in the second tier at the right, in which St. Michael presents a soul to the Saviour, the conception of heaven is very literal and curious: the "many mansions" are like an aggregation of little open cells from the windows of which the blessed peer contentedly forth. Although the gold backgrounds are, by exception, destitute of patterns even at the borders, the retable is lit up by the bright tones characteristic of Gothic color at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The draperies wind hither and thither in the approved style of Valencian painting of the moment; but the note of international *genre* emerges more visibly than in any of the other Valencian works that we have considered. There is more resort to contemporary costume; the figures of demons give greater opportunity for an international revelling in grotesquerie; and at the left of the representation of hell the composition is filled with two pretty ships riding upon the sea. The love of brightness and *genre* is one of the factors that approximate the Murcia retable to the London altarpiece of St. George, which is the most significant of the Germanizing works that centre about the personality of Marzal de Sas; and it is indeed a question whether the Murcia picture should not be consigned to that other group of Valencian paintings. There is nothing to be said either for or against ascribing it to a painter Pedro Fábregas, who, whether or not of Murcian citizenship, is recorded as active in the city in 1393.[1]

---

[1] M. Serrano y Sanz in *Revista de archivos*, XXXVI (1917), 442. Serrano prints the *Careal* without the cedilla under the *C*.

4. Works Contemporary with Nicolau but not in the Same Style

Before proceeding to a discussion of the later manifestations of the style exemplified by Pedro Nicolau, one or two monuments must be recorded that belong to just the same moment in the evolution of Valencian painting as Nicolau but not quite to exactly the same artistic tradition. The retable of Sts. Vincent and Stephen, variously said to be dated 1390[2] or 1398,[3] in a chapel of the Iglesia de la Sangre at Liria has the interest of once more explicitly confessing the debt which almost all Spanish painting at this epoch owed to Italy but which we are likely to overlook because it is constantly hidden by an accretion of international and indigenous characteristics. The effigies of the two saints in the central panel, separated from each other by a colonette (Fig. 261), are surmounted by a representation of the Madonna seated in a wall-enclosed garden and surrounded by variously and charmingly occupied angels. The small central pinnacle contains a Crucifixion in which the participants are reduced to Christ, the Virgin, and St. John. In the four lateral compartments at the side of St. Vincent are depicted: his trial, together with St. Valerius; his torture on the gridiron, into which is introduced from the *Golden Legend*, in the spirit of international *genre*, a detail that I do not remember having seen elsewhere, the throwing of salt from a bowl into his wounds; his death upon the soft bed to which Dacian had caused him to be transported in the hope of preserving him for further persecution; and the raven protecting his corpse from the wild beasts to which Dacian had cast it. The corresponding four scenes at the right from the life of St. Stephen are the ordination, disputation, arrest, and lapidation. The predella displays in thirteen compartments the Pantocrator flanked by the twelve Apostles. The technical ability revealed in the central panel is of a high order, and where in the subordinate compartments, as particularly in the representation of the Madonna and angels, the grade of craftsmanship is lower, the reason may be quite as well the extensive restoration to which the altarpiece, with the exception of the middle compartment, has been subjected as the intervention of assistants. The two central saints are very Sienese, not only in their frail mysticism but in the actual cast of the countenance and in the slit-like eyes, specific elements that seem to prove that the painter had admired the works of Simone Martini. Among the analogues in Simone may be mentioned especially the frescoed saints in the chapel of St. Martin at Assisi. The Christ and Apostles of the predella also witness to Sienese obligations. In the narrative compartments, the student may fail to discern the Sienese derivation so distinctly, because it is perhaps overlaid with a knowledge of the forms and the *genre* of the early French manifestations of the international style. The technique is largely that of the illuminator, and the painter has a predilection for separate masses of pure color. Possibly, however, Gallic sprightliness has not affected these panels any more than it has a number of Sienese paintings of the second half of the Trecento; and it may be, in the main, only the occasionally rather Iberian types that prevent the lateral panels from looking absolutely Sienese. The

---

[1] A. Baquero Almansa, *Catálogo de los profesores de bellas artes murcianos*, 31–32.

[2] E. Tormo, *Levante*, 184.

[3] C. Sarthou y Carreres, in *Geografía general del reino de Valencia* (edited by F. Carreras y Candi), *Provincia de Valencia*, II, 537. Sr. Tormo kindly tells me that the date has been calculated on circumstantial evidence, but I do not know whether 1390 or 1398 is the year to which the evidence points.

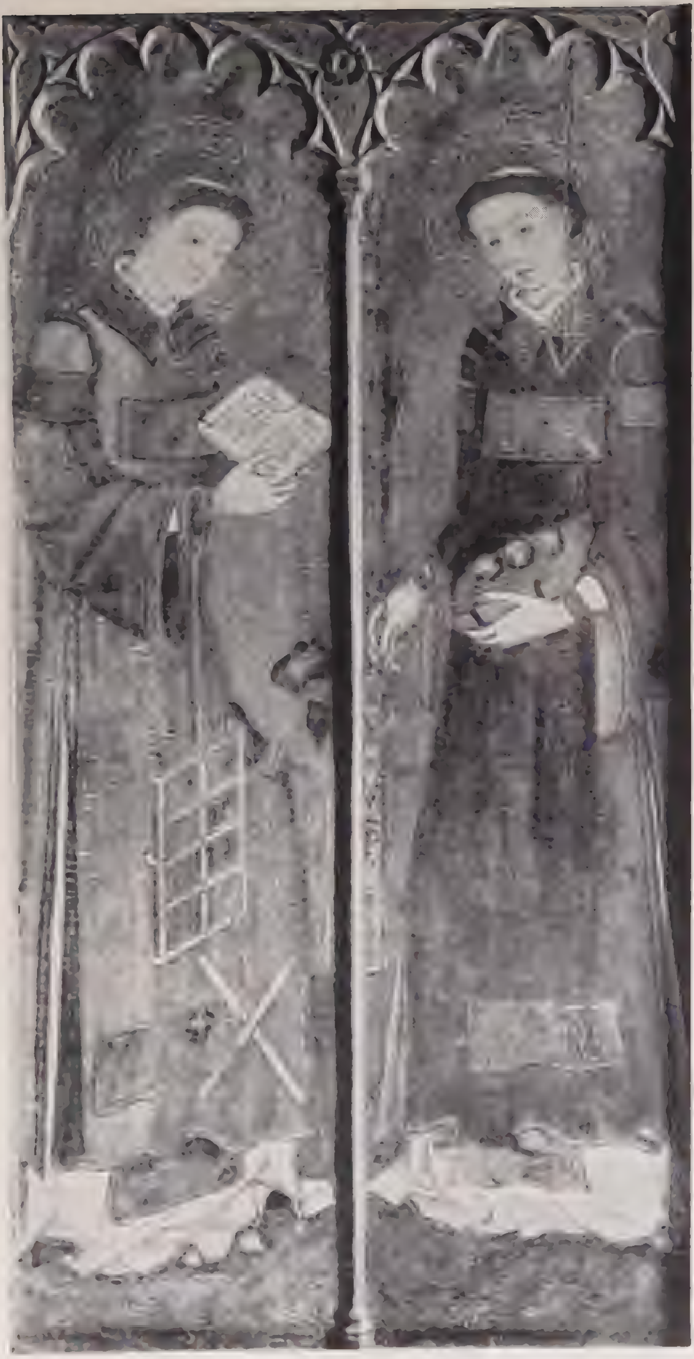

Fig. 261. STS. VINCENT AND STEPHEN, CENTRE OF A RETABLE. IGLESIA DE LA SANGRE, LIRIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

most essentially international section is the compartment of the Madonna and angels, who are placed, as in the contemporary schools of Cologne and Verona, in a garden. The symmetry with which the Spaniards ordinarily treat this theme is partially violated by imparting to the angels, as in Stefano da Zevio's similar picture in the Verona Gallery, more varied activities of the pretty international sort than was the wont. Only one of them makes melody on the lyre; from another the Holy Child tenderly accepts a gift of flowers; a third, at the lower right, is gathering more roses and is reverently watched by a group of three, at the left, who appear to be in a quandary as to what sacred office they can find to perform. The Liria retable incorporates an aspect of Italianism somewhat different from that of the Bonifacio Ferrer and Ollería altars. It has more of the gentleness and placidity of the Sienese school in contrast to their more vigorous manner, which is similar to that of the later Florentine Giotteschi, in whose artistic personalities the Sienese strain is only a contributory factor.

Probably to Valencian painting and to this moment in its evolution should be accredited a distinguished panel of St. Anne, the Virgin, and Child over an altar in the right transept of the cathedral of Cuenca in that part of New Castile which lies closest to the province of Valencia. An inscription embodies the statement that it was executed, or at least set in this shrine, or that the original shrine was constructed, as an offering in connection with the plague in the fifth year of the pontificate of Martin IV, i. e., in 1285, since this pope wore the tiara from 1281 to 1285. But the earliest possible date for the present picture is the second half of the Trecento, and it should rather be assigned to the end of the century. The inscription, therefore, if it refers to the picture itself, must be a mistake, or the existing panel may have been substituted for an earlier one or constitute a complete repainting of the fourteenth century, or — an unlikely solution — the ex-voto may have been made a century after the devastations of this particular visitation of the pest. The florid brocade that diapers the gold background can scarcely belong to the picture of the fourteenth century and must be a result of a still later remodelling. Of the remodellings, either of the shrine or of the picture, there is record in the

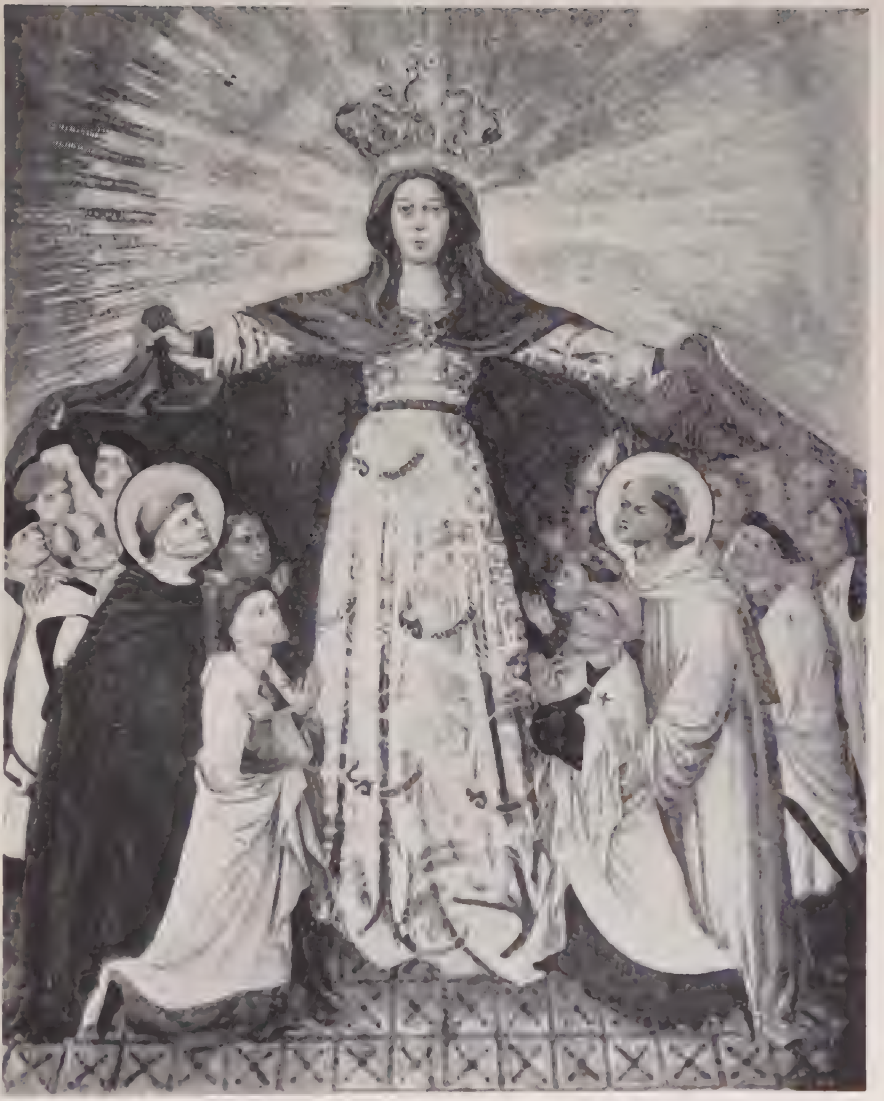

Fig. 262. MADONNA OF MERCY FROM MONTESA. PRADO, MADRID

(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

years 1522 and 1652.[1] The somewhat Italianate style of the figures, resembling the early manner of Gentile da Fabriano, might at first thought suggest a Castilian provenience, but it must be remembered that Gentile's pupil, Dello Delli, had not yet fertilized the Castilian soil. The robe of St. Anne spreads broadly forth and forms itself at the bottom into stylized folds after the fashion of Pedro Serra. If one takes into account, however, the distance of the Catalan school and the insignificance of Castile in Italianate production during the fourteenth century, he is almost forced into the acceptance of a Valencian derivation. The style does not appear to be that of Toledo, the centre of what Italianate work there was in Castile during the Trecento. The Valencian hypothesis receives support from the community of aesthetic interests between Cuenca and Valencia at the beginning of the sixteenth century when they shared the art of Ferrando Yáñez de la Almedina.

A perhaps even more faithful devotion to Italianism than in the case of the Liria and Cuenca pictures was exhibited by the pristine condition of a panel of the Madonna of Mercy, which, hailing from the castle at Montesa, the home of the Military Order of that name, has eventually found a port in the Prado (Fig. 262); and the Italianism, curiously enough, seems Giottesque rather than Sienese. Our Lady spreads forth her mantle over a number of knights and a bishop of the Order, who are presented by its patron saints, Benedict and Bernard; Carderera in his *Iconografía española* [2] wishes to recognize in the crowned head among the devotees at the left the Infante Fernando Pedro, the brother of the sovereign who in 1317 founded the Order, James II of Aragon. It is necessary to use the phrase "pristine condition," for even Carderera, writing in the middle of the last century, recognized that there was extensive repainting, which he ascribed to the moment, in 1785, when the picture was transported from Montesa to the Templar Church at Valencia. The retouching has altered particularly the face of the Virgin and has given her a white tunic covered with a brocade of animals and birds; the *appliqué* crown upon her head must likewise be fairly modern, and the rays that emanate from her on the gold background can scarcely belong to the original work. The two saints and the *protégés* are sufficiently intact to reveal a profound debt to late Giottesque art of the end of the Trecento, and they betray as yet little or no knowledge of the international style. The bulkiness of Giottesque form and drapery attaches in particular to the figures of Sts. Benedict and Bernard. The natural conclusion would be that the panel was painted in the early years of the fifteenth century. Quite in accord with such chronology is a certain stiffness of pose and gesture, which cannot wholly be explained by the general mediocre craftsmanship of the piece and which is contrasted with the freer articulation of the human body in the art of the second quarter of the century. Old Carderera was perhaps only a decade too late when he assigned the picture to about the year 1421, having first decided, by a careful comparison of the costumes with the complicated history of the changing robes of the Order, that 1328 and this date are the two *termini* within which the execution of the panel must fall.

---

[1] J. M. Quadrado and V. de la Fuente, *Castilla la Nueva*, II, 284.

[2] I, pl. XVI.

5. The Continuers of Nicolau's Manner

Among the later examples of the general, though not specific, manner connected with the name of Pedro Nicolau, executed from about 1420 to 1430, there may be mentioned first the fragments of a retable in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, said to have come from the church of Sto. Domingo in that city. Because of the difficulty of obtaining exact information in regard to the parts and provenience of mediaeval Spanish pictures that have now been broken into sections and dispersed, I cannot personally vouch for the constituents of this retable, but I have been told at the Museum itself that the following pieces in the Museum belong to it: a large panel, evidently once the centre of the retable, showing the standing, nursing Madonna and at her feet symmetrically composed and placed groups of diminutive, kneeling men and women curiously depicted as catching the milk from her breast in bowls and pitchers, while two angels stretch the red and gold brocade of a fabric behind her (Fig. 263); a much injured Crucifixion from the upper centre of the altarpiece and above it, according to the frequent custom of Valencian retables, a figure of Christ blessing; from the upper left part of the monument, another small, battered compartment, representing the Madonna surrounded with angels who express their worship by rather decided gesticulations of the hands, and, above this, the upper left pinnacle containing Gabriel of the Annunciation; and, from the right part of the *ensemble*, three compartments with the Epiphany, Flight into Egypt, and Vision of St. Bernard, and, above them, the right pinnacle of the Virgin of the Annunciation. On the pieces that remain of the background against which the retable was set, the Valencian practice is followed of decoration by figures of angels, here holding instruments of the Passion. The representation of the central Virgin as nursing and the setting of the moon at her feet demonstrate that there still hovers over her the old conception of the Madonna of Humility; and, since we have seen this iconographic phase of the Virgin to be especially connected with Dominican institutions,[1] it is apposite to remember that the retable once decorated the church of Sto. Domingo. The crystallization of the idea of the Virgin's spiritual succour through representing in the central panel her votaries as gathering her milk found expression in general Christian hagiology in the experience ascribed to St. Bernard; and when in the art of the seventeenth century, especially in Spain, there was a tendency to give very concrete statement to spiritual concepts, the Virgin's bestowal of her milk upon St. Bernard and even upon other saints was a favorite theme. But throughout the retable of Sto. Domingo there runs a strange emphasis upon the Madonna's milk which is oddly morbid in the midst of the usual wholesomeness of the Middle Ages and which outdoes rather than merely anticipates the attitude of the baroque. Not only is the Vision of St. Bernard set beside the central subject of the general distribution of the Virgin's milk, but both in the Epiphany and the Flight into Egypt she is depicted as giving the breast to the Child! The central panel has been arbitrarily ascribed (by those who probably did not know that it was only one part of the Sto. Domingo retable) to Jaime Mateu, whose documented activity may be traced from 1402 to 1449 and who lived long enough to act in 1443 as appraiser for a picture of the

---

[1] See vol. II, p. 232.

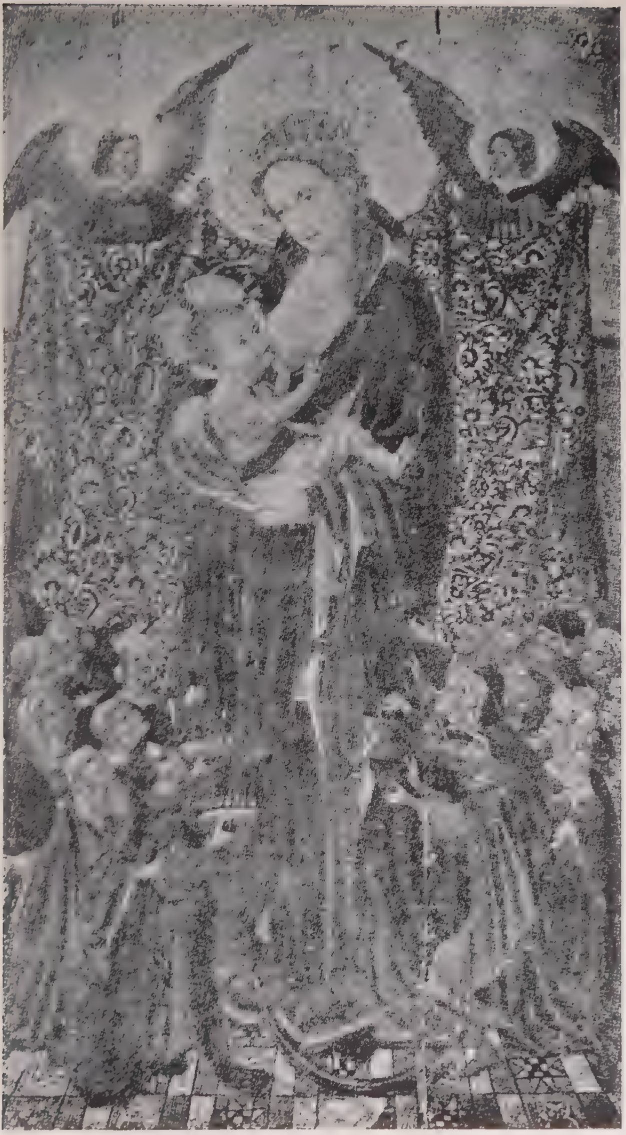

Fig. 263. MADONNA AND WORSHIPPERS, SECTION OF RETABLE OF STO. DOMINGO, VALENCIA. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

(From "Geschichte der spanischen Malerei" by A. L. Mayer)

great master of the next stage in Valencian painting, Jacomart. The only ostensible ground for the attribution is that in 1402 he witnessed to a receipt for Pedro Nicolau and was therefore perhaps, at this moment in his youth, Nicolau's pupil; but the panel reveals no specific traits that may be labelled as emanating from Nicolau (if he be the creator of the Sarrión Madonna), and, moreover, the disciples of Nicolau must have been many. In any case, the rather loose drawing is not that of a great master. The execution is somewhat careless even in the Virgin's devotees in the central panel, although there is an attempt to render them with the meticulous naturalism that the international style applied to figures of contemporaries. An adventitious interest of this panel is that it is among the first pictures in which Valencian tiling appears as the pavement upon which the figures stand. The pleasantest bit of the altar is the lateral compartment of the Madonna enthroned among angels, one of the precedents for Jacomart's charming treatments of this theme.

The retable in the Ermita de la Esperanza at Albocácer (Fig. 264) is serener and less nervously intense than the majority of works in the present group, and the types are somewhat different. For some reason unknown to me it has been ascribed to the year 1408,[1] but stylistic considerations would point to at least a decade later. The central panel is one of the compositions customary in this group, the Virgin (here without the Child) seated under a cloth canopy the poles of which are held by angels. The two large lateral compartments beside her are occupied by another Vision of St. Bernard and by a standing St. Barbara. Of the pinnacles, the central one contains the Crucifixion, and the lateral ones effigies of Sts. Catherine and Agatha seated upon architectural thrones. The predella is devoted to the Passion, and the slightly injured *guardapolvos* to small effigies of sacred personages. Although the author's knowledge of Italian art was probably only inherited and not direct, he tends to narrow the face to almost a point at the chin producing pinched types which, taken together with the color and the nature of the modelling, create the kind of resemblance to the

---

[1] C. Sarthou y Carreres, in *Geografía general del reino de Valencia*, volume on *Provincia de Castellón*, 505.

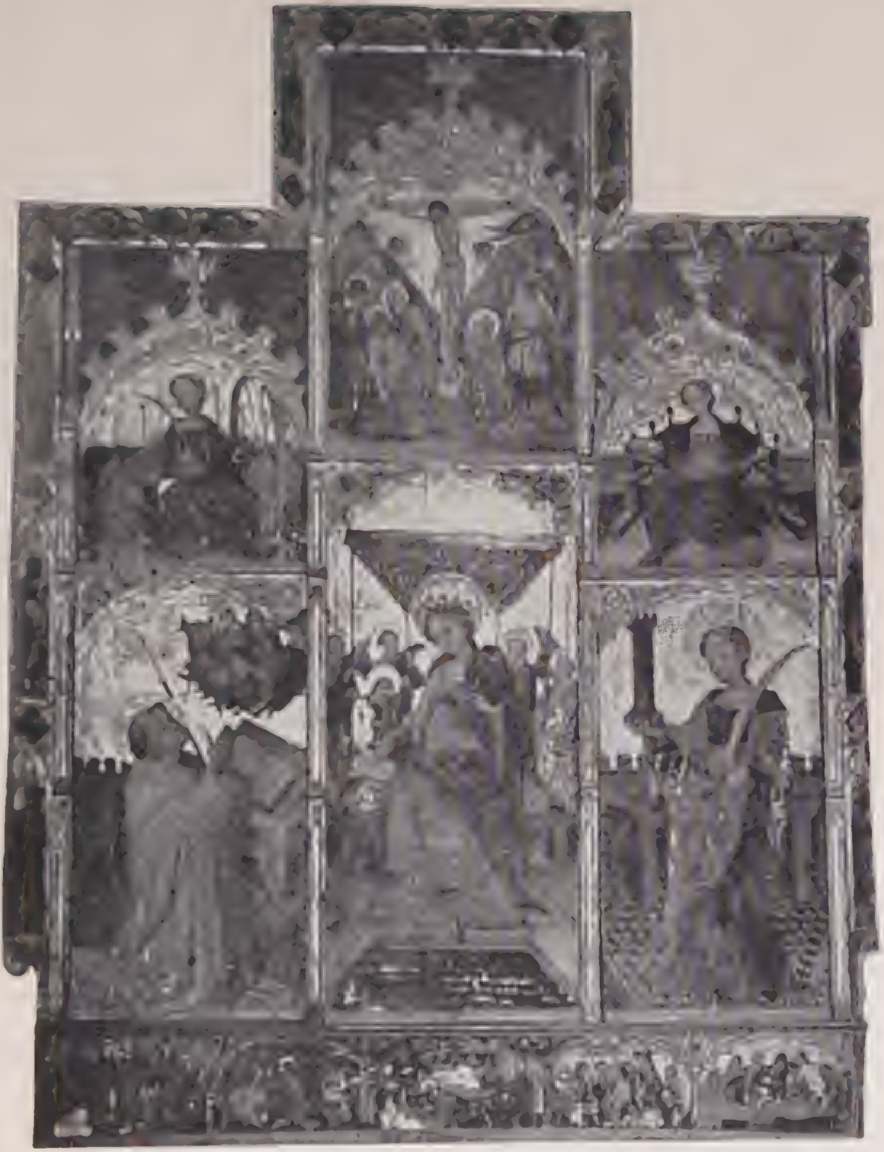

Fig. 264. RETABLE. ERMITA DE LA ESPERANZA, ALBOCÁCER

(Photo Arxiu Mas)

manner of Sassetta that is frequently and in all likelihood accidentally encountered in Spanish art of the period. He does not yet know how to render the seated postures of Sts. Catherine and Agatha, but in general the craft is on a higher level than that of the altarpiece of the fourteenth century in the church of the SS. Juanes in the same town.

The similarly composed retable in the Ermita de San Roque which lies on the rock that towers over Jérica, just northwest of Segorbe, is one of the sparse number of works in this region between Valencia and Aragon that are not purely Valencian but reveal an admixture of Aragonese traits (Fig. 265). In the central panel the Virgin, now with the Child, is seated on an architectural throne through the apertures and at the foot of which, in the Aragonese way, angels either adore or make music. The two lateral sections consist, as at Albocácer, not of several small compartments but of two large panels, the one at the left, again as at Albocácer, enshrining a narrative scene, St. Martin and the beggar, and the one at the right a feminine saint, Agatha. The three pinnacles are occupied by the Crucifixion, St. Martin's dream, and St. Agatha's torture. Beneath the representations of St. Martin and the beggar and of the standing St. Agatha, two small compartments, probably with other scenes from their lives, once made the lateral sections equal in height to the central panel, but they have now perished, together with the predella. The retable has been gratuitously ascribed to an Antonio Pérez of Valencia (active 1404–1422) merely on the flimsy excuse that this artist contracted in 1421 to paint for the parish church of Jérica an altarpiece with various episodes from the life of Our Lady. But such are not the themes of this retable, nor is its resting place, at least today, the parish church. The Ermita de San Roque was indeed the old parish church; but the present parish church was contracted for in 1395,[1] and it is not likely that a retable would have been ordered for the Ermita de San Roque under the name of the parish church some thirty years afterward, when the altarpiece in question was painted. The present parish church is dedicated to St. Agatha, and it is

---

[1] Tormo (*Levante*, 59) wrongly puts down San Roque as begun in 1395, whereas its commencement dates back to the Reconquest in 1236: see C. Sarthou y Carreres, *Provincia de Castellón* (in F. Carreras y Candi's series on the *Geografía general del reino de Valencia*), 1031 and 1034.

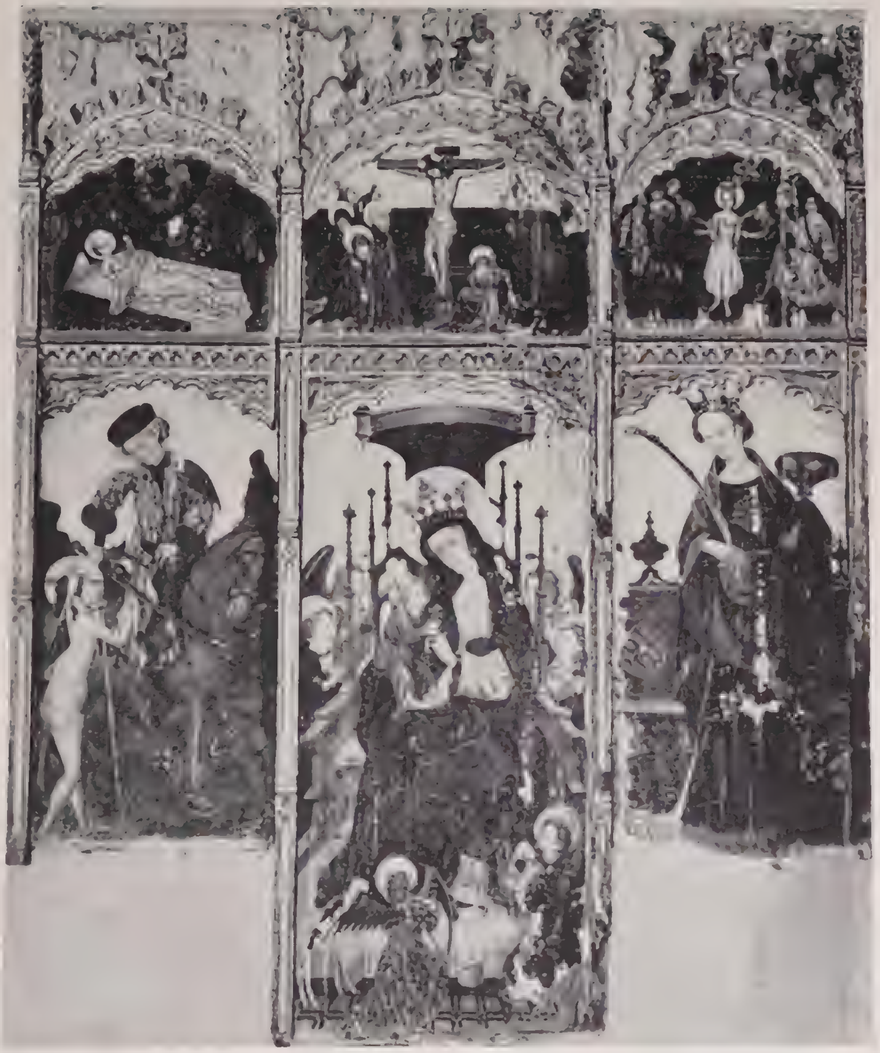

Fig. 265. RETABLE. ERMITA DE SAN ROQUE, JÉRICA

(Photo. Cardona)

probably for this reason that she appears even in a retable that seems to have been done for the other church of San Roque. It is not out of the question, of course, that the construction of the new church was not very far advanced by about 1420 and that San Roque should then still have been called the parish church in a contract for an altarpiece, nor is the possibility to be excluded that the retable was once in the present parish church and was then moved to the Ermita; but in any case the themes are conclusive proof against the attribution to Antonio Pérez.[1] Besides the composition of the central panel, other evidence of an Aragonese overlay is provided by a partial degree of the Aragonese blunt plainness of features in the Virgin and the St. Agatha, the pertness of the angelic types, and the complication of Gothic sinuosity in the Virgin's draperies. The fundamentally Valencian character, however, is given by a mystical elevation that is lacking in Aragon. No one, moreover, who was not impregnated with the Valencian atmosphere could have painted so delicately beautiful a head as that of the mounted St. Martin. The whole scene of St. Martin and the beggar, indeed, looks forward to the popularity of this theme with Jacomart and other later Valencian artists. Like Jacomart, also, the master imparts to the altarpiece a very formal, decorative effect by turning many of the fabrics into gold in addition to the gold backgrounds. Examples are the Virgin's tunic under her once blue (now green) mantle, the vestment of the angel at the foot of the throne, the coat of the mounted St. Martin, the coverlet of the bed upon which he lies in his vision, and the costumes of two of St. Agatha's persecutors. The whole tonality is much gayer than the photographs would imply. The author, whatever his identity, was a person of parts. Even St. Martin's horse is drawn, for the period, with considerable respect for actuality. The delineation of hands, nevertheless, is an exaggeration of the usual Gothic stylization of these extremities into spider-like pieces of frailty with unreal, elongated, and widely separated fingers.

A more masterly specimen of this frontier manner is the large panel of the enthroned Madonna, without accompanying angels, once the centre of a retable, in the Walters Collection, Baltimore (Fig. 266). The types of the Mother and Child are

---

[1] Only the central theme of the Madonna and angels corresponds in the retable for which Pérez contracted. The contract is published by Zarco del Valle, *Documentos inéditos*, etc., p. 287.

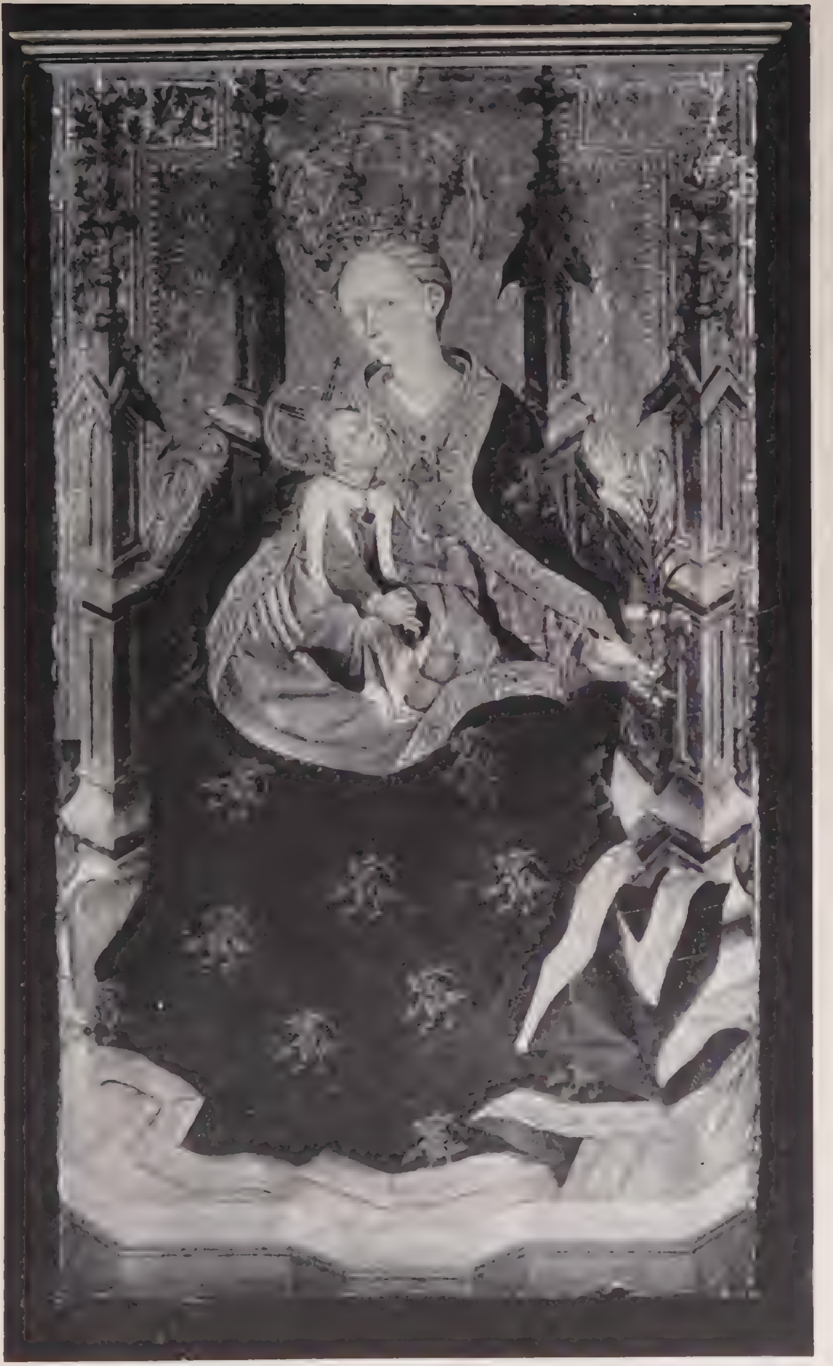

FIG. 266. MADONNA. WALTERS COLLECTION, BALTIMORE

(Courtesy of Mr. Henry Walters)

essentially Valencian, without the Aragonese cast that distinguishes them in the Jérica picture. The Virgin's countenance resembles indeed the Sassetta-like faces of the altarpiece in the Ermita de la Esperanza at Albocácer, although it is better drawn; and the Child's head is perked up in the jaunty and captivating fashion illustrated as early as the Sarrión panel. The Madonna and, despite His plumpness, the Child have something of the ethereal quality of Valencian art in contrast to Aragonese stolidity. Although the gold background, in distinction from the usual Valencian practice, is diapered throughout with a light foliate *motif*, yet, in the way that seems to have become popular at Valencia about 1425, the borders are considered separately, divided from the rest of the gold by moldings, and treated with a different design. The upper horizontal border, again as often in Valencia, is not carried completely across but is reduced, on each side, to what looks like the projecting arm of a cross. Significant also is the absence of the embossings to which the Aragonese at this time so frequently resorted. The Aragonese tinge is given chiefly by the broad and magnificent spread of the Madonna's mantle, swelling into the baroque undulations of florid Gothic. Its blue expanse, lined with a light red, is embellished with a more ostentatious pattern than the sensitive Valencians ordinarily liked, consisting of gold griffins in the frontal arrangement which disregards foreshortening and which we have so frequently encountered in Catalonia. She furthermore holds a conspicuous spray of lilies as do the Aragonese Madonnas in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid, and (from Albalate) in the Saragossa Museum, but in the Walters panel the lilies are prettily joined at the bottom with roses into a bouquet. The luxurious fur trimming to the Child's pink gown is also perhaps an Aragonese touch. It is probably fortuitous that one of the few defects in the work, the monstrous size of the Virgin's right hand and the abnormal length of the fingers, is paralleled in the left hand of the Aragonese Madonna at Frankfurt. In Spanish mediaeval pictures, because of our primary concern with the figures and because the gold backgrounds and gold accessories are a trite story, we are likely to overlook the beauty of these backgrounds and accessories and the exquisite skill that the masters of the time attain in diapering them; but such craft is so conspicuously superior in the Walters panel that it cannot elude the most casual observer, whether we glance at the background itself, at the Virgin's tunic, at the orphrey of her cope, or at her delightfully and opulently designed crown.

More distinctly Valencian in fineness of sentiment and delicacy of execution and undulled by Aragonese fusion is another large and superb central panel of a retable that has also found its way into an American collection, the enthroned, unidentified episcopal saint accompanied by the customary diminutive, kneeling international donor in the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 267). In an article upon the treasures of mediaeval art in the kingdom of Aragon,[1] Sarthou states that the picture comes from the eastern littoral of Spain, but he does not make it clear whether he was familiar with the panel in its original location before it left Spain or whether, after this event, he merely recognized its style as Spanish without knowing its actual provenience. He kindly informs me, however, in a personal letter that his acquaintance with the work is restricted to a photograph which was sent him by a Parisian, once its owner, which exhibits it in a condition prior to its present restorations, and which he publishes in his article. Some experts have called the picture French, and a definite French provenience has been alleged for it, the chapel of the château of the Comte de Chastenet d'Esterre, near Toulouse. The next step has been to identify the bishop as St. Louis of Toulouse, although, not to speak of the absence of his usual attributes of the fleurs-de-lis on his cope or the rejected crown at his feet, he does not even wear beneath the vestment the customary Franciscan habit! I know of no French primitive that it in any way resembles. I am disposed to concur in Sarthou's judgment that it is Spanish, and I myself should ascribe it to the school of Valencia. The throne, the tiling, the calligraphic Gothic drapery, and even the type of the saint's countenance are Valencian in character. The crispness of the lines is one of the distinctions of Valencian art, but Sarthou's photograph of the picture in its original condition shows that this quality has been now somewhat dimmed through retouching. By exception in Valencian painting the whole surface of the gold background is decorated with a kind of floral *motif*, and not merely the borders; but there are other examples of this anomaly, as, for instance, the Baltimore Madonna itself. The panel indeed is ablaze with gold. The bishop's cope is a solid gilt mass, diapered with a pattern of conventionalized foliage, instead of the kind of fabric more usual in the painting of this period in which gold is merely interwoven with colored cloth. Its edges, orphreys, and morse, as well as the saint's pastoral staff and rings, are made the more brilliant by embossing. The present state of the saint's and donor's faces incorporate a maturity of technical resources that would place the panel at least as late as 1450, but the almost Trecento character of the drapery and of the general draughtsmanship would pull the picture back at any rate to *c.* 1425, and Sarthou's illustration seems to reveal to me that the faces once conformed better to such a date. I can descry no convincing parallelisms to Simone Martini's St. Louis of Toulouse in S. Lorenzo, Naples, other than those fortuitously occasioned by the similarity of theme. The critics who wish to believe that the painter of the Cleveland picture had in mind this great prototype will find quite as abundant reason for such reminiscences at Valencia as in southern France, despite the situation of Simone's second home, Avignon, in the latter region, and will discover only another instance of the way in which the Valencian and Catalan masters of the fifteenth century, when they turned for inspiration to Italy, looked back rather to the Trecento than to their contemporaries of the Quattrocento.

---

[1] *Butlletí Excursionista de Catalunya*, XXXVII (1927), 48 ff.

A style like that of the more Italianate members of this Valencian group is exemplified by Alvaro Pires of Evora in Portugal who in the first half of the Quattrocento found a field for his art along the west coast of Italy at Pisa and Volterra and of whom nothing is known before his arrival in the Italian peninsula. One may be allowed, therefore, to suspect that he may have stopped at Valencia before he crossed the sea to undergo even stronger Sienese influences in an adopted country. The Madonna enthroned amidst musical angels from the church of S. Croce a Fossabanda at Pisa and now in the gallery of that town exhibits exactly the same composition that was popular at Valencia, in Aragon, and even in Catalonia, and the types

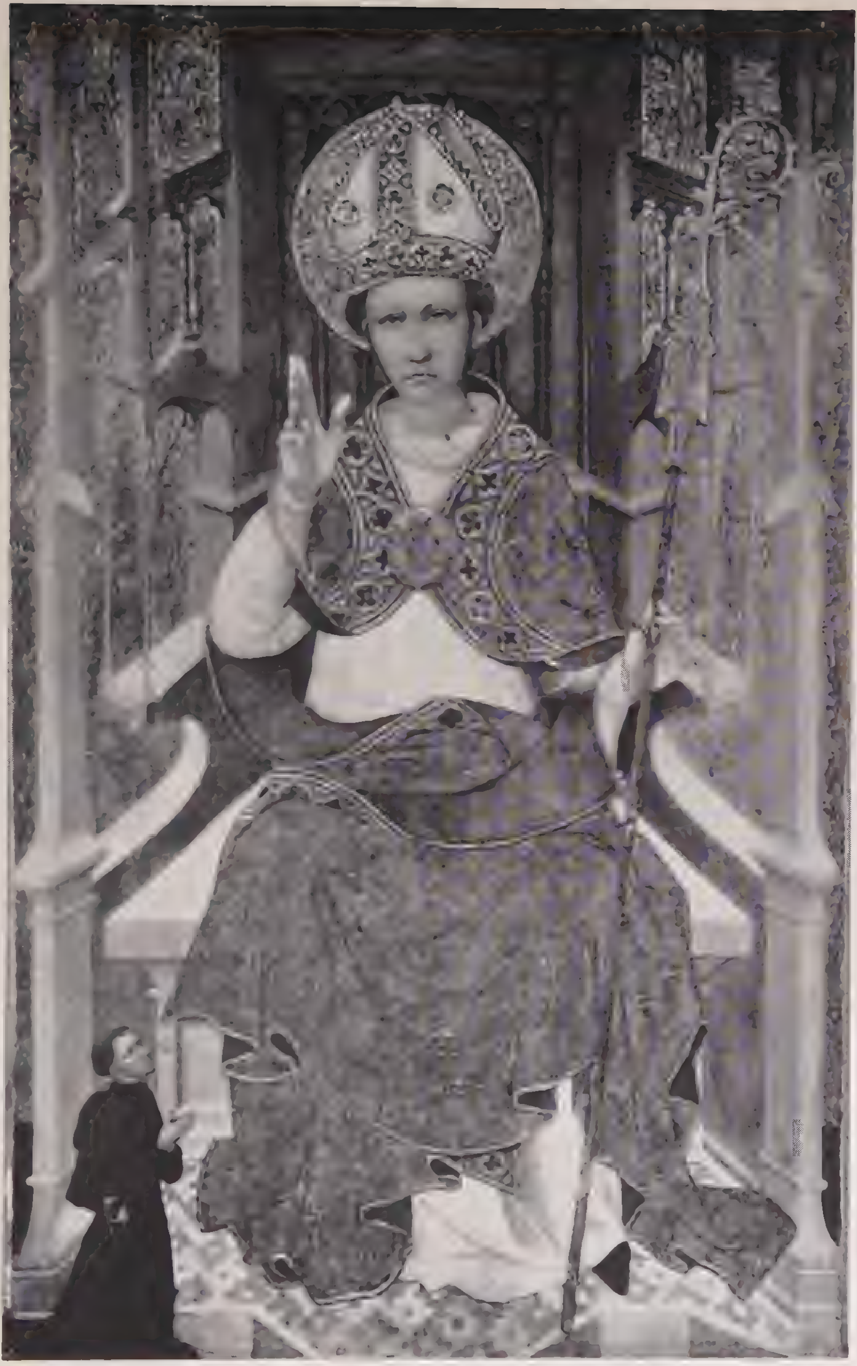

FIG. 267. EPISCOPAL SAINT. MUSEUM, CLEVELAND

(Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum)

might conceivably be interpreted as having a somewhat Spanish rather than a purely Italian character. The picture in the monastery of S. Agostino di Nicosia, near Calci, in the district of Pisa is a simplified version of the altarpiece of S. Croce a Fossabanda. The ancona in the Palazzo dei Priori at Volterra and the triptych of 1434 in the gallery at Brunswick are more Italianate, and the Brunswick picture, at least, is probably later. Independently of me, Roberto Schiff[1] has recently guessed that Alvaro Pires may have worked in Catalonia or a near-lying eastern province (and, if there is anything in the idea, I should exclude Catalonia and name Valencia as the province). The basis for his guess is found in the rather elaborate foliate diapering of the gold background, hard to parallel in Italy, that appears in a panel of the Madonna and Child in the collection of the Conti Agostini at Pisa, which, however, I am not sure that he is right in ascribing to the Portuguese master. Possibly we are but making our eyes see what we wish them to see in tracing any Spanish reminiscences whatsoever in Alvaro Pires, and he may have been wholly Italian-trained; but the very fact that the theory of a period of study in Spain is not absurd demonstrates once again the existence of the same aesthetic ideals on both sides of the intervening sea and the intimate relationship between the schools of Pisa, Catalonia, and Valencia.

---

[1] *Lusitania*, III (1925–1926), 35–39.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE GERMANIC TENDENCY AT VALENCIA · ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS AND HIS CIRCLE

1. Andrés Marzal de Sas

Contemporary with Nicolau's activity there existed at Valencia a phase of the international style marked by an extreme form of the general tendency of flamboyant Gothic art to extravagantly haggard types. As in German painting and sculpture, at least of the later fifteenth century, realism in the countenance is exaggerated to unfeigned ugliness, and the bodies are likely to assume violent attitudes. The types themselves and, in the subject of the Madonna and angels, the compositions are rather Teutonic; and there is good reason for connecting this style, which took a very vital hold upon Valencian art and persisted, in a modified form, until the middle of the century, with a painter of German nationality resident at Valencia and enjoying there great popularity, Andrés Marzal de Sas (probably meaning, of Saxony). At times collaborating with Pedro Nicolau, he may be traced as active from 1394 to 1410. The ground for relating the style to Marzal is that one of the pictures which exemplify it, a panel in the New Sala Capitular of the cathedral of Valencia depicting the Incredulity of St. Thomas (Fig. 268), comes very close to constituting a documented work by this master. In a receipt of March 20, 1400, he acknowledges payment for a retable dedicated to St. Thomas in the cathedral; since the theme of the Incredulity was not normal in altarpieces dedicated to Our Lord, the panel in the Sala Capitular is probably a fragment of a retable of the Doubting Apostle that once adorned the cathedral, and it scarcely seems possible that there should have been in the church two retables of exactly the same period and honoring the same saint. A contract of June 25, 1405, in which a priest, Pedro Dorchal, orders from Pedro Nicolau a retable of St. Barnabas for the cathedral stipulates that it be like the retable of St. Thomas, meaning, without doubt, the retable for which Marzal had given the receipt. Inasmuch as it is likely, though not certain, that Dorchal would not have referred to the St. Thomas altarpiece unless Nicolau had had a hand in it, a logical inference is that this altarpiece had issued from the partnership of Marzal and Nicolau. As a next step, the sceptic may therefore ask: why ascribe this eccentric style to Marzal rather than to Nicolau in the partnership? The answer is that the German character of the style more reasonably connects it with an artist of German extraction. The pictorial firm of Nicolau and Marzal received joint commissions; but in one instance, one member of the firm would probably do the main part of the job himself, as Nicolau at Sarrión, and in another instance, the other member, as Marzal with the St. Thomas altar, would assume the major share of the undertaking. The partner who was not taking the chief responsibility for any given retable would confine himself perhaps for the moment to such decorative functions as the construction of the frame, or would execute only odd bits of the actual painting, as in the predella.

The panel of the Incredulity of St. Thomas has all the marks of the manner: the angular types, the contorted draperies, and the ill-favored physiognomies, Teutonic in the cast of the features and, in the two heads at the upper right, lying close to the border of caricature. The ruddiness of the tonality is a fitting dress for the harshness of the drawing.

Although the stylistic analogies are exact enough to justify an attribution to the author of the Incredulity panel himself, it is certainly a more judicious procedure, in the absence of documentary proof, to abide by the prudence of assigning to the general manner that he exemplified one of the most important monuments of Valencian painting in the first half of the fifteenth century, the huge retable of St. George now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It had always been known that the retable came from Valencia or the province, but Tormo, in his book called *Levante* of 1923,[1] for the first time published what is in all probability its true and definite origin, namely, that it was made for that mediaeval company of municipal militia in Va-

---

[1] Pages cxxxiii–cxxxiv.

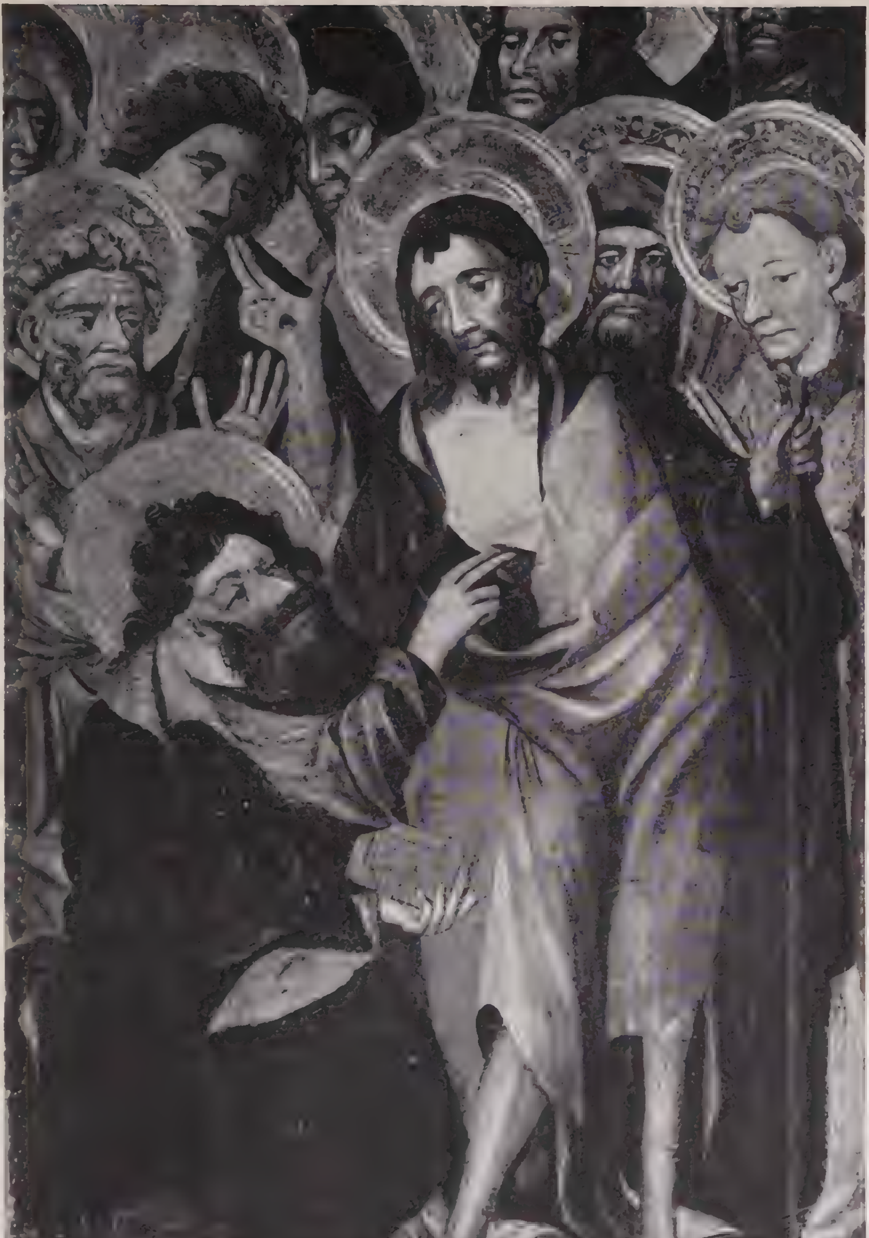

Fig. 268. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS (?). INCREDULITY OF ST. THOMAS. CATHEDRAL, VALENCIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

lencia called the Centenar de la Pluma, whose foundation is said to date back to James I. Its connection with this troop[1] would seem to be established by the presence of their characteristic weapon, the *ballesta* or cross-bow, as one of the insignia upon the frame. Their patron was St. George, and they had charge of the small and now demolished church of S. Jorge at Valencia, beside which was their place of assemblage and after which was named the near-lying Plaza, now entitled the Plaza de Rodrigo Botet. In response to my request for further information, Señor Tormo has kindly written me that it is this church which he believes to be the place of the retable's provenience. He says that the memory of the church's destruction (which took place in the nineteenth century) and of the sale of the picture lived on at Valencia, and that a few years ago, after one of his lectures in the city, in which he had discussed the retable and illustrated it with lantern-slides, a cultured old gentleman told him that he remembered as a child hearing mass in front of it, recalling its size, general aspect, and dedication to St. George, although not the details. The retable was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1864. The presence of the cross-bow, when taken in conjunction with this Valencian tradition, constitutes almost unimpeachable evidence of the execution of the altarpiece for the Centenar and for the church of S. Jorge; but an apparent objection is created by the fact that some details point to a connection with the Military Orders of St. George of Alfama or of Montesa. In many of the panels St. George is clad in a habit which may be either that of Montesa or Alfama, often wearing over his armor a kind of scapular or tabard marked with a large red cross or, in the compartments of his trial, his drinking of the poisoned cup, and his confounding of the idols, actually parading the mantle of one of the two Orders. Furthermore, the central panel represents a crusading event, the victory of Alcoraz won by Aragonese over the Moors in 1096 through the supernatural intervention of St. George. It is probably because of these elements that hitherto the retable has been generally assumed to have once adorned the castle at Montesa or the chapel belonging to the Knights of the Priory of St. John

---

[1] For a description of the Centenar de la Pluma, see J. Martínez Aloy, *Provincia de Valencia*, I, 748, in F. Carreras y Candi's *Geografía general del reino de Valencia.*

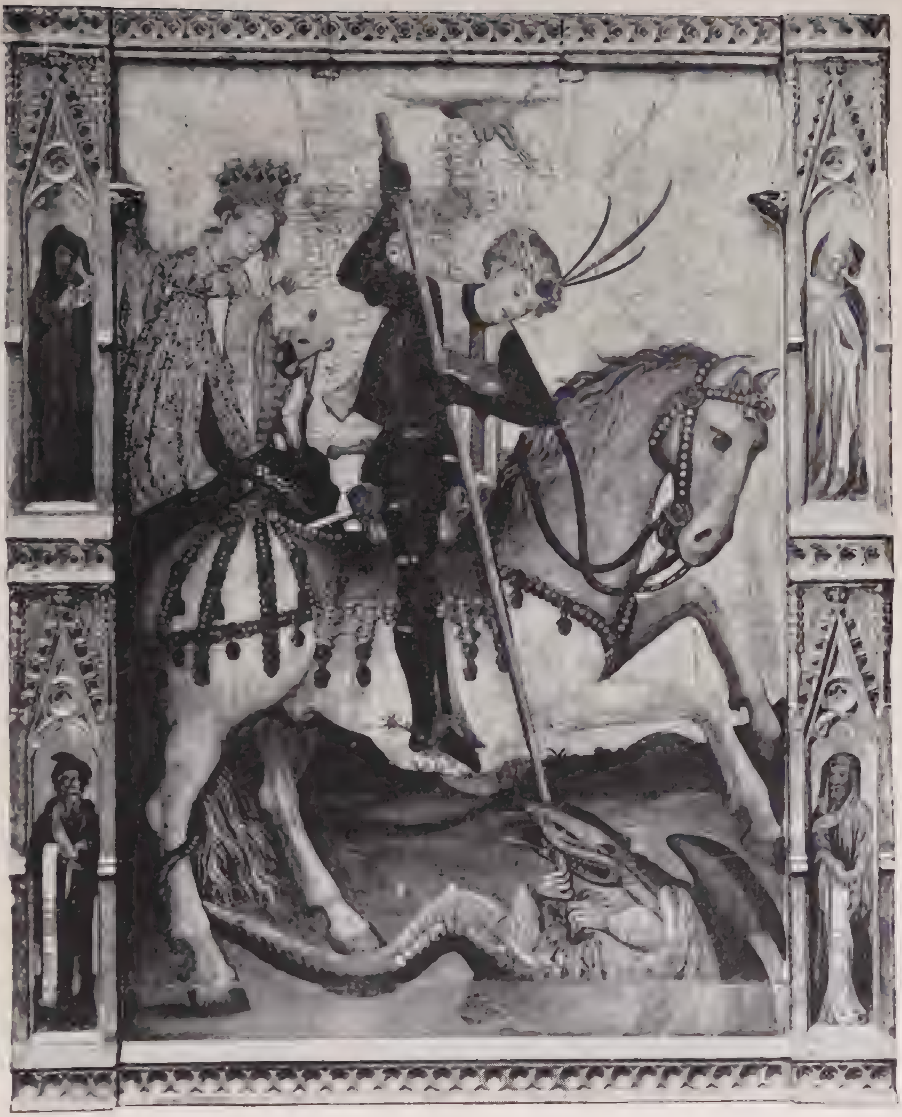

Fig. 269. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS (?). ST GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE CENTENAR DE LA PLUMA, VALENCIA. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON

of Jerusalem at Valencia itself. The relationship to the Military Orders, however, is not incompatible with a belief in a provenience from the church of the Centenar de la Pluma. In the fourteenth century the Order of St. George of Alfama gained control of the church, and, after this Order and Montesa had been merged in 1400, they rebuilt it (although even the rebuilt edifice was pulled down in the nineteenth century); but the Centenar continued to possess a chapel in the church.[1] The union of the emblems and costumes of Alfama or Montesa with the cross-bow of the Centenar would indicate that the former institutions had also a share of interest in the altarpiece of the church that was now theirs, and the retable would still preserve the significance, like the Madonna of Mercy in the Prado, of being bound up with one of the most romantic aspects of the life of the day, the Military Orders. The subjects of St. George and his legend would thus have a double reason in his patronage both of Alfama and of the militia. It would be natural that there should have been a desire to decorate the restored edifice with a new and grandiose altarpiece, and the style of the paintings quite accords with the ten or twenty years after 1400.

In this capacious structure there are two other large panels in the middle section: beneath the scene of the battle of Alcoraz, in a compartment of the same size, is the fight with the dragon (Fig. 269); and above the scene of the battle, in a compartment of almost equal proportions, the Madonna enthroned among an unusually numerous throng of music-making and adoring angels. At the sides are sixteen smaller compartments depicting various moments of the stories of St. George's fight with the dragon and of his protracted martyrdom. The predella is devoted to the Passion, the uprights of the frame to Prophets and worthies of the Old Testament, and the *guardapolvos* to the Apostles and dove of the Holy Spirit. The central pinnacle, as frequently in Valencian altarpieces, is occupied by the blessing Christ; the other four pinnacles display the Evangelists; and beside all these pinnacles on the background upon which the retable is set, again according to Valencian practice, may be seen angels and, flanking the central pinnacle, Moses and (?) Elijah. The gold backgrounds are patterned, and at that lightly, only at the borders. The brocades in the costumes are also often enhanced by an inlay of gold.

---

[1] J. Martínez Aloy, *op. cit.*, 743.

The countless analogies to the picture of the Incredulity of St. Thomas are so self-apparent that it is necessary to single out merely a few for special mention. Not only do there peer forth at us everywhere the gaunt, hard-featured, Teutonic types, especially in the Prophets on the frame, but the long-

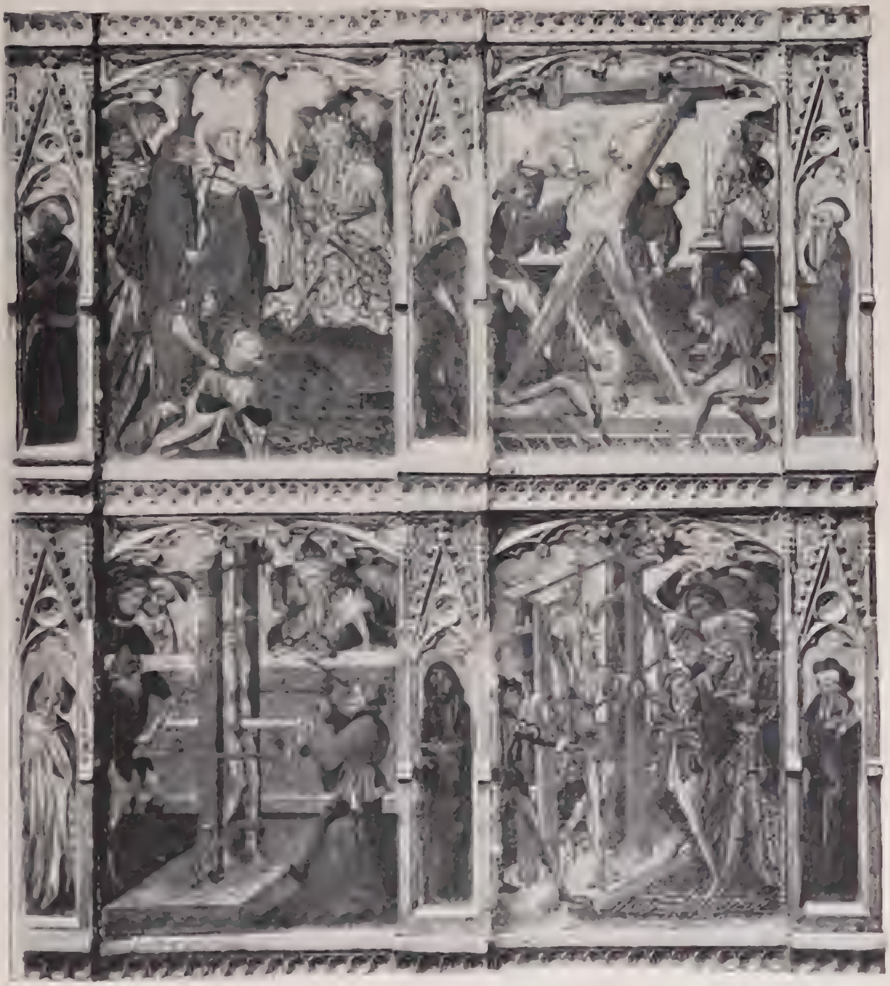

FIG. 270. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS (?). TORTURES OF ST. GEORGE, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE CENTENAR DE LA PLUMA, VALENCIA. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON

nosed, caricatured countenance in the upper right corner of the Incredulity is actually repeated several times in the St. George altar, for instance in the courtier of Dacian, St. George's judge, at the upper right of the scene representing the carding and burning of the martyr's body (Fig. 270), in the Prophet on the frame at the right of the decapitation, and in the Prophet at the upper left of the fight with the dragon. The tendency to hideous caricature and to the grotesque reaches, in the St. George retable, an extreme that rivals Jerome Bosch. Salient examples are the demon who rends the saint's beheader and the several frightful representations of Satan as Dacian's councillor, in one case black-visaged. In the episodes of the nailing of the martyr to a board and the breaking upon wheels, this revelling in the repulsive degenerates, as often with Bosch, into vulgarity and allows the introduction of a spectator blowing his nose. The large panel of the Madonna and angels is more German, even in the very type of Virgin, than any of the other Spanish "international" representations of the theme that we have noted as suggesting in greater or less degree, whether by accident or not, contemporary Teutonic achievement. German art of the second half of the fifteenth century is also foreboded in the agitation of many of the personages, which reaches its climax in the disordered *mêlée* of the battle scene where the frenzy of movement is accentuated by the flying banners. The executioners of St. George are cast into violent postures, and the figure of Dacian is several times so contorted that he gives the impression of a victim of convulsions. It is a like theory of art that causes El Greco to seek emotional effects through somewhat different departures from the norm.

The international style is more definitely evolved than in the pictures by Pedro Nicolau and the other members of his group. It has even already assumed an early form of its Franco-Flemish aspect, whether the painter had become familiar with this aspect in a hypothetical training in Germany or whether it had entered Valencia, as it did Catalonia, direct from France. The style of the Centenar retable is, indeed, premonitory of the manner diffused in Catalonia by the anonymous artist who takes his name from another altarpiece dedicated to the same saint, the Master of St. George. The types, especially the executioners in their caricatured fierceness, are somewhat like his, and the rich, international, Burgundian costumes are often duplicated in his panels. But many factors, especially the draperies of the holy personages on the frame and *guardapolvos*, prove the Centenar altarpiece to be earlier by ten or twenty years than the Master of St. George's activity in *c.* 1430, although, if it is by Marzal de Sas, it may well be one of his latest works, subsequent to the Incredulity of 1400 or even subsequent to his last documented date, 1410. Despite the harshness of temper of which the artist was capable and despite the fact that he dwells upon the gruesome details of the battle and the various tortures in a way that may be denominated at will as German or Spanish, at times he unlocks another compartment of his nature and indulges himself in the charm and gentleness of the international style. The winsome little walled towns and castles are more extensive and more carefully done even than was the wont. St. George himself is a dapper and even pretty young gallant, quite unequal in appearance to the heroism either of his combat with the dragon or of the tortures that he has to undergo. The large panel of the fight with the monster is lovely rather than, as with the Catalan Master of St. George, spirited. According to this lighter phase of the international style, the author's mind has captivatingly conceived the two unusual scenes of the Virgin and angels arming St. George for the fray (Fig. 271) [1] and of the saint binding the dragon with the princess's girdle that she may lead it to the city. The battle of Alcoraz, in spite of its commotion and bloodiness, possesses the picturesque unreality and bright caparisons with which the international school decked out its representations of warfare, and recalls the virtually contemporary martial painting of Spinello Aretino in Italy. The activities of the angels around the enthroned Madonna are more natural and varied than was the custom in this stereotyped composition; as in the Sarrión picture, two of them offer flowers. Scarcely pretty but yet wholly in the spirit of international *genre* is the quaint episode, occupying a whole panel, of the feeding of a child, before St. George's arrival, to the monster who already holds a sheep in his clammy grasp. In general, indeed, the artist's imaginative ingenuity makes him a precursor of Carpaccio, who treated the same themes in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni at Venice. It is only in the rocks of the backgrounds and in the holy personages on the frame and *guardapolvos* that a rudimentary use of chiaroscuro in modelling is revealed. Judged by the technical standards of the day, nevertheless, the hand is distinguished enough to have been that of so prominent a master as Marzal de Sas, just as the superior craftsmanship of the Sarrión piece helps to support its attribution to Pedro Nicolau.

---

[1] The princess or a personified Virtue arms St. George in the beautiful Catalan panel, perhaps by Jaime Huguet, now in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona.

Mayer[1] rightly places in the school of Valencia two upright panels in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia representing the Birth of Christ and the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 272),[2] but he should have connected them with Marzal de Sas rather than Pedro Nicolau. There can be no possible doubt, indeed, that they were painted by the very author of the London retable of St. George. The caricatured types of the Apostles in the Death of the Virgin and of St. Joseph in the Nativity are absolutely identical with numerous figures of the retable, and the angel at the head of the bier would be no alien in the group that hymn Our Lady in the upper panel of the retable. The red and gold covering of the bier is highly characteristic of Valencian art. A novelty in the iconography of the Dormition is the Prophet (not God the Father, as Valentiner would have it) who hovers in the gold background displaying a partly obliterated inscribed scroll. The painter is beginning to have an "international" concern with picking out and defining detail, as in the flowers, herbage, and windows of the roof in the Nativity. The two groups of shepherds in this scene are curiously dwarfed, perhaps in lieu of a proper perspective.

To a slightly earlier moment of exactly the same style as that revealed by the St. George altar, if not actually to the same master, belongs a retable which originally graced the monastery of Portaceli but is now in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, and which has been wrongly attributed to Pedro Nicolau, at least as far as we at present know his manner. It is dedicated to the

---

[1] *La pintura española*, 45.

[2] Nos. 756 and 757 of the Catalogue by W. R. Valentiner, who wrongly attributes them to a northern French artist.

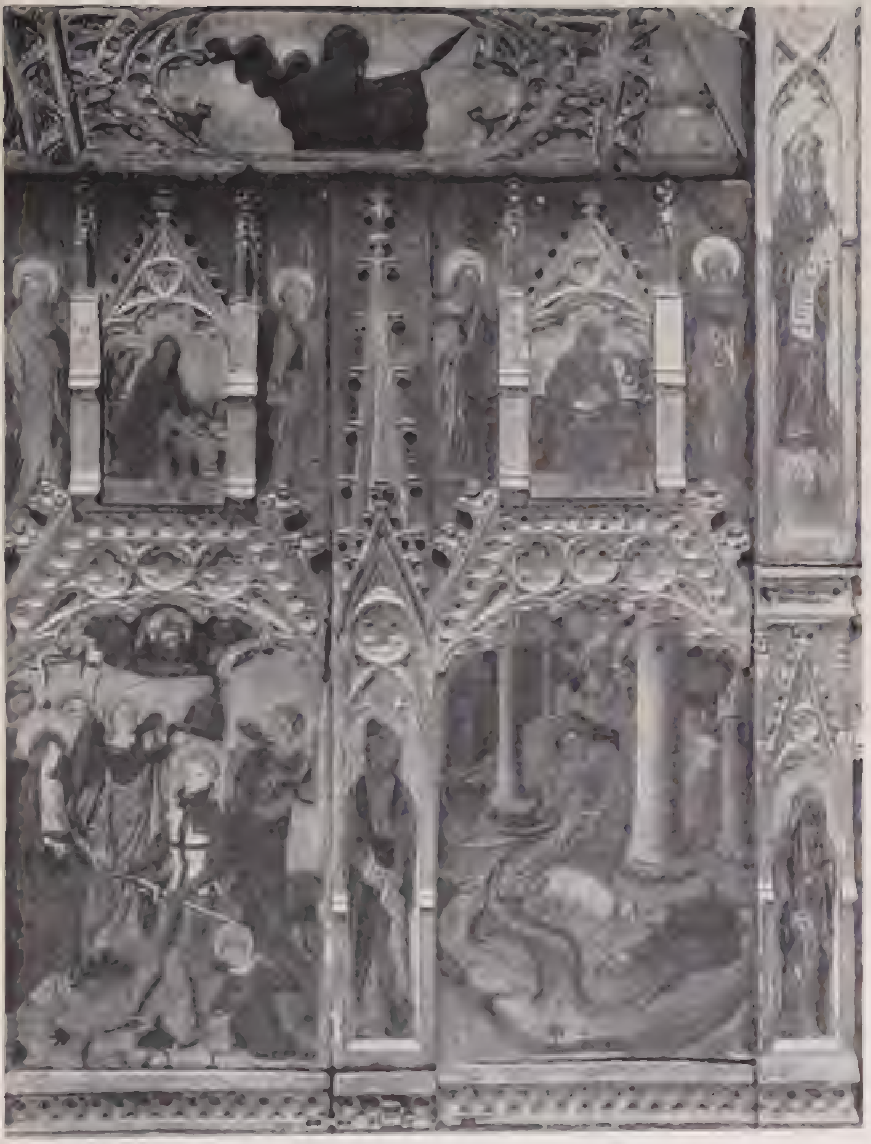

Fig. 271. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS (?). EPISODES FROM THE LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE CENTENAR DE LA PLUMA, VALENCIA. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON

legend of the Holy Cross, which is told in six compartments around a central Crucifixion capped by a representation of Christ the Judge appearing at the resurrection on the Last Day. The central pinnacle is occupied by a blessing Saviour, and the lateral pinnacles by Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation; on the spandrels that serve as a background to the pinnacles are angels upholding escutcheons. In refusing to accept the ascription to Nicolau, the possibility is not to be excluded that he was here a collaborator; but, if such was the case, his hand, as represented by the Sarrión panel, is obscured beneath the other, more conspicuous, Germanizing style. We have already seen, furthermore, that Nicolau may some day be discovered himself to have worked in the Teutonic manner, in which case the attribution might again be considered. Certain analogies in general form and theme to the Ollería retable, which has been catalogued above in the circle of Pedro Nicolau, are obvious: the two lateral pinnacles display the actors of the Annunciation; angels with heraldic shields are painted on the spandrels of the background; the subject of Christ the Judge and the resurrection of the dead, which is divided in the Ollería piece between two central panels, appears in the upper central compartment of the Holy Cross altar; and the actual resurrection of the dead is represented in somewhat the same way. No one would deny, moreover, that (although the Ollería example may be slightly the younger) there is at least some slight stylistic agreement between the two monuments, due possibly to the fact that Nicolau or a painter related to him collaborated in the Holy Cross retable; and yet many factors, especially the Germanic elements, make the manner of the Holy Cross retable in the main very different. Doubt is legitimate even in regard to the possibility that the hypothetical secondary hand was the same that executed the Ollería altarpiece. The sceptic may find good reason for his doubt in a comparison of the Christ as Judge or of the Annunciation in both retables. The Germanic elements not only differentiate the retable of the Cross from the works that we have grouped about the personality of Nicolau, but they justify the attribution to Marzal de Sas or at least to his circle.

Scattered throughout the retable are literal reproductions

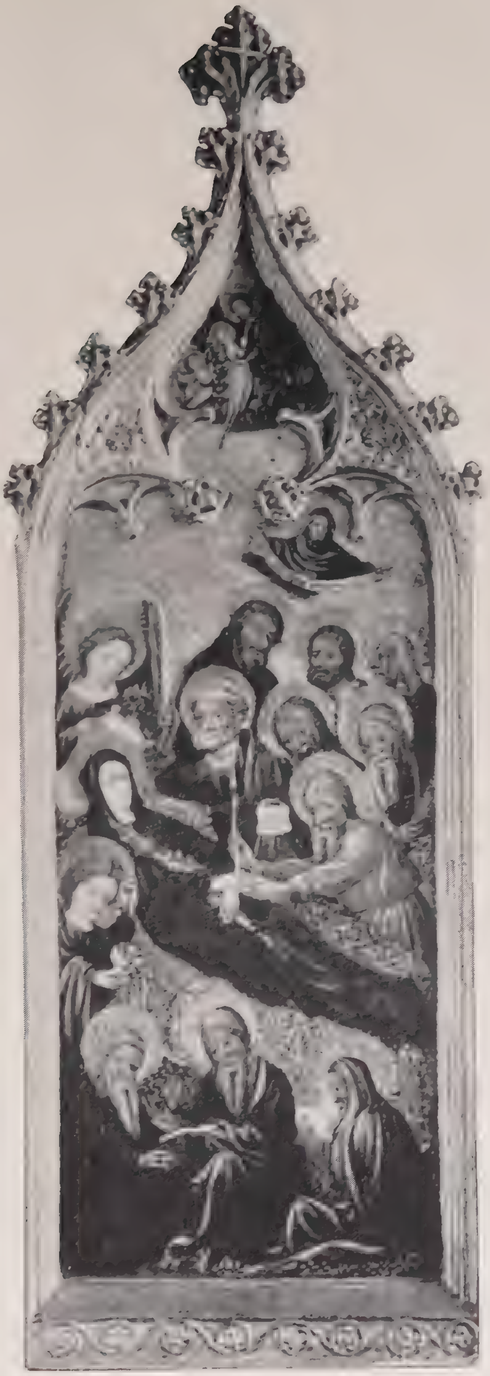

Fig. 272. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS (?) DEATH OF THE VIRGIN
JOHNSON COLLECTION, PHILADELPHIA

(Courtesy of Mr. Henri Marceau)

of the half-caricatured, long-nosed types that are so peculiarly characteristic of the panel of the Incredulity of St. Thomas and of the St. George altarpiece. The personages are often clad in the same species of brocade. The whole scene of Constantine's military victory in the sign of the Cross is somewhat like the central battle of the St. George altar, even to the prominence and similarity of a white horse in the right foreground. Although the Christ as Judge and the bodies rising from the tombs are typical instances of the agitation of late Gothic art, in general the gesticulation in the retable is not quite so jerky and violent as in the St. George altar, and the date is within the very first years of the fifteenth century and therefore probably somewhat earlier. The lesser perturbation and the types of some of the figures again suggest that the chief painter, a member of the Teutonizing group, may have had a collaborator who belonged to the somewhat less harsh manner of which we have conjectured Pedro Nicolau to have been one of the exponents. It is not absolutely a wild shot to guess that the collaborator may have been Nicolau himself, who is known to have been a partner of Marzal de Sas; but if this be so, it should once more be emphasized that his style, as embodied at Sarrión, is pretty completely overshadowed by that of his associate. Even the forms in the Holy Cross altar that are not Teutonized do not correspond closely with those of Sarrión. To realize this one has merely to compare the Sarrión angels with the Gabriel of the Holy Cross retable. Agnosticism as to the identification of a possible collaborating hand with that of Pedro Nicolau is increased by the superior craftsmanship of the Sarrión panel. The Holy Cross retable does not appear to have been much affected by the Ferrer picture, which the painter or painters must have seen at Portaceli. Mayer mentions an analogy in the composition of Heraclius [1] humbly carrying the Cross into Jerusalem (Fig. 273) to that of the Conversion of St. Paul, having in mind, probably, the presence in both panels of horses among the rocks sloping into the foreground. As in the Ollería retable, the Italianism of the Ferrer altarpiece has much receded, but there still are left resemblances to late Giottesque art. It is not out of the question that the compositions of some of the lateral compartments

---

[1] Mayer wrongly dubs him Constantine.

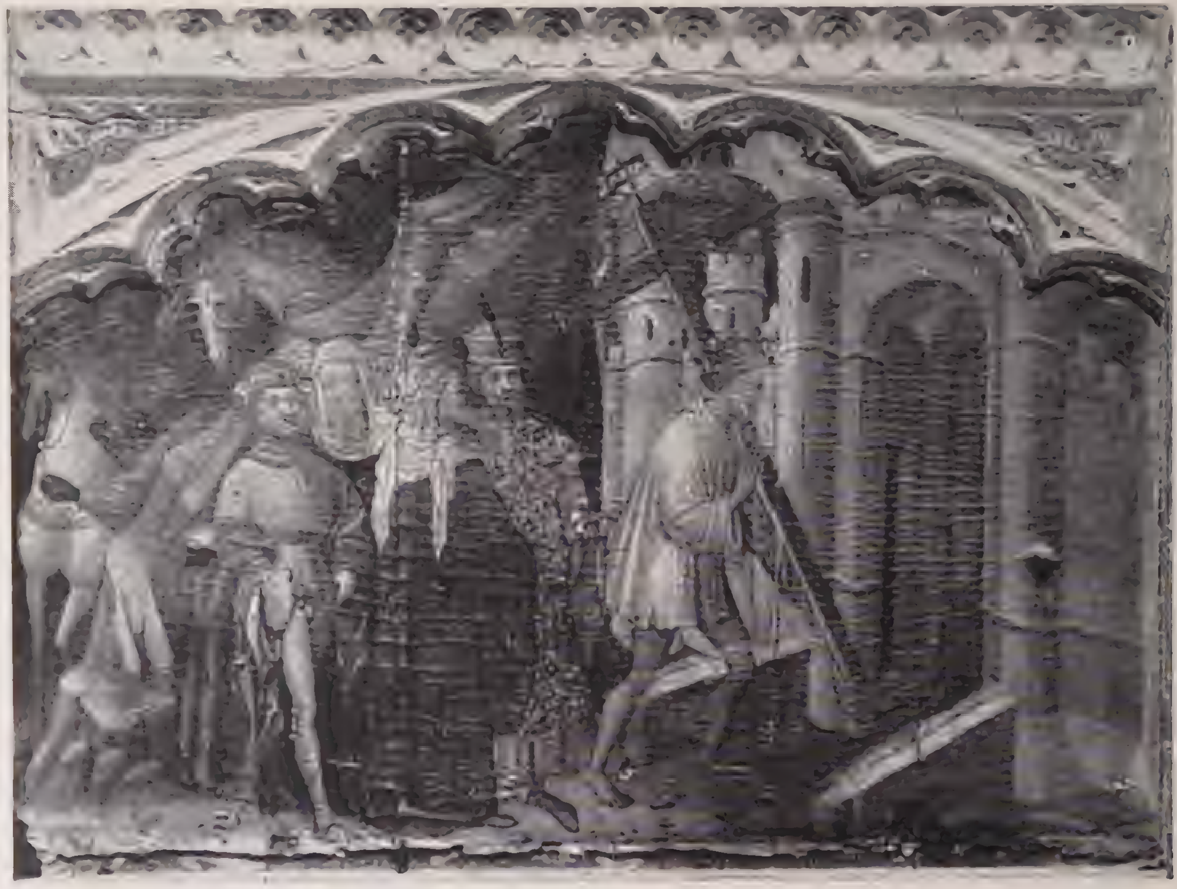

FIG. [illegible]. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS(?). HERACLIUS CARRYING THE CROSS INTO JERUSALEM, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE HOLY CROSS. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

from the legend of the Cross were partially suggested by the frescoed cycle of Agnolo Gaddi in the choir of S. Croce, Florence, although the parallelisms are not so great that they could not be due to the fact that both the Italian and the Spaniard were using the general mediaeval iconography for the themes.

Closely analogous in style to the Holy Cross retable is a panel of unknown provenience in the Museo de la Ciudadela, Barcelona, representing the death of a young saint (Fig. 274) and wrongly attributed on the attached label to the Catalan master, Jaime Cirera. The subject is probably the demise of St. Vincent upon the soft bed on which Dacian, who seems to be the figure garbed as a Moor and standing behind with his satellites, had caused him to be placed in order that he might recuperate to endure more torments. The picture is certainly not Catalan but of the most absolute Valencian cast. Dacian and the henchman behind him at the right are exactly the kind of malignant,

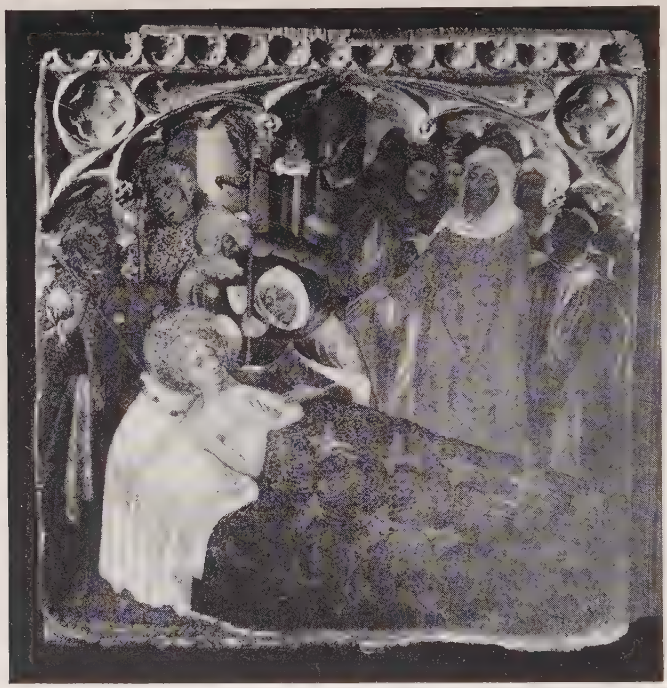

Fig. 274. ANDRÉS MARZAL DE SAS (?). DEATH OF ST. VINCENT (?). MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA

long-nosed characterizations in which Marzal de Sas revelled, and they suggest especially the form that the characterization assumes in the Holy Cross retable. The expiring saint is one of the scrawny personages that this phase of Valencian painting employs for young martyrs, although, as here, it never fails to endow them with great delicacy.

2. Contemporary Works in the Germanic Style

Among the works of the Valencian school that reveal Teutonic affiliations, a place of honor goes to the large and comprehensive retable in a chapel on the right at the lower end of the nave in the parish church of Rubielos de Mora (east of Teruel) because it exhibits an artistic mastery above the level of Valencian painting of the period so far as it is known to us in extant specimens and because the state of preservation is unusually satisfactory. The great central panel is occupied by a Salvator Mundi in whose figure majesty and mildness are beautifully fused and in whose type there still linger reminiscences of Simone Martini's models. The predella enshrines the Passion, underneath are medallions of the Prophets, and the frame and *guardapolvos* contain effigies of saints; but the rest of the many sections are devoted to the Virgin (Fig. 275). The two panels above the central Saviour display her Death and Coronation, and the sixteen lateral compartments in four tiers, other episodes from her life. The subjects of the four pinnacles beside the Coronation I have never been able to distinguish clearly in the darkness of the church; possibly they represent the four Evangelists. The gold backgrounds, as usual in the school, are incised only at the borders; and against them bits of landscape are often delightfully relieved. Many of the garments are accented with gold; but the warm Gothic color is prevented from ever becoming gaudy by the spirit of tranquil restraint that affects all aspects of the style here exhibited. The types are patently those of the Germanic tendency, most obviously recognizable in the saints upon the frame. The closest analogue is perhaps the Johnson Death of the Virgin. Yet the absence of the characteristic nervous agitation and the less pronounced nature of the caricaturing of certain types militate against an attribution to Marzal de Sas. If it is Marzal, it is Marzal in a subdued mood. The personality that lies behind the style reveals everywhere a gentle imagination which likes a delicate Gothic prettiness and which sometimes modifies the traditional iconography, for instance when the angel bends over the kneeling St. Anne at her Annunciation or when an angel joins the hands of St. Anne and St. Joachim in the Meeting at the Golden Gate, just as he unites their heads in the fresco by Nardo di

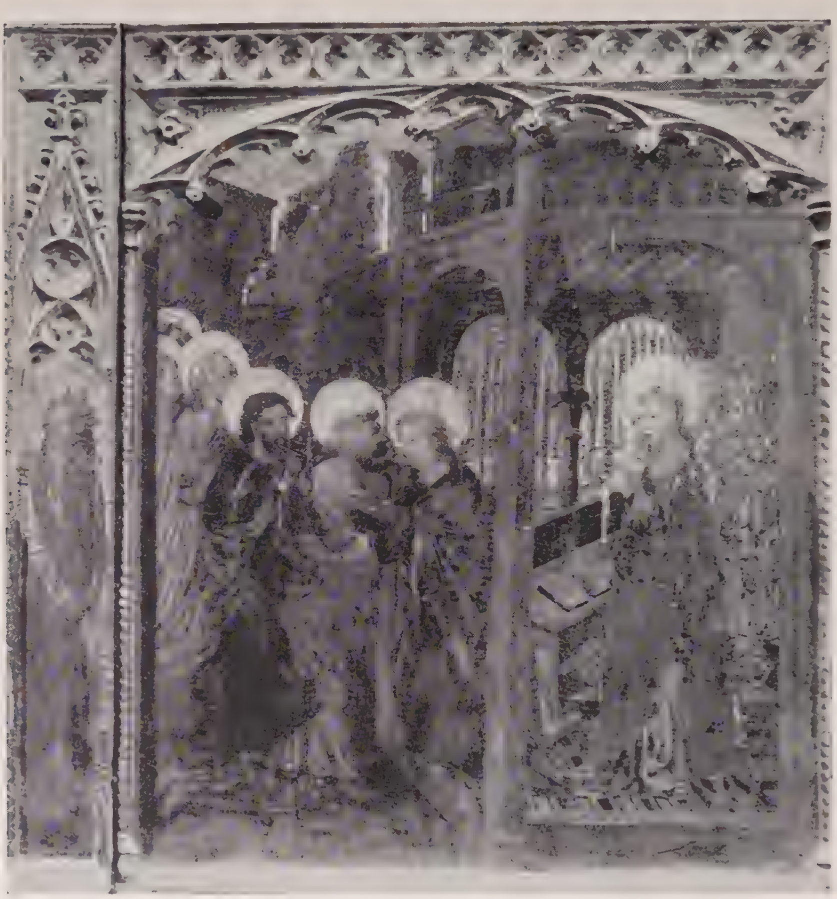

Fig. 275. CIRCLE OF MARZAL DE SAS. ARRIVAL OF THE APOSTLES FOR THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. PARISH CHURCH, RUBIELOS DE MORA

(Photo. Cardona)

Cione (?) in the small cloister of S. Maria Novella at Florence or in another by Don Lorenzo Monaco in S. Trinità. The draperies have the ample Gothic undulations that are typical of Valencian painting at the turn from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century; their soft grace is managed with particular skill on the impressive form of the central Christ. The drawing, in general, has a master's sureness and scrupulousness, in contrast to the mere craftsmanship of the shop that deadens so much of the pictorial output of Spain at this time. Its nicety is perhaps due to a training among the illuminators. Even the nudes have more correctness than the average painter thought it worth while to seek to attain.

The Rómulo Bosch Collection at Barcelona contains certain paintings which must be placed in the Teutonic group of works. The many harsh Teutonic types attach unmistakably to this division of the Valencian school a small retable of considerable technical merit displaying in the central panel the Madonna of the Milk, enthroned among musical angels, and in the surrounding compartments her life. The Teutonic stamp is scarcely less decided in two other works in the Collection which come from Puertomingalvo, almost directly east of Teruel, near the border of the adjoining province of Castellón and which exhibit even higher aesthetic attainment. One is a retable of St. Barbara, containing in the principal compartment her large effigy (Fig. 276) and in each of the four lateral panels two scenes from her legend. In the upper left compartment she is baptized by the priest Valentine, and the building of the tower takes place (Fig. 277); at the lower left her father threatens her with a dagger, and next, on the mountain to which she has been miraculously transported in order to escape his fury, her hiding-place is revealed to him by one of the two shepherds; at the upper right she is haled before the judge and is then tortured on the cross; and at the lower right she is stoned and finally resigns to God her soul in the form of the long, spectral apparition so customary in the Spanish iconography of such scenes. The pinnacle is occupied by the Crucifixion and the predella by a Pietà (with the figure of Christ, however, lost) and four feminine saints prettily seated amidst rocks and trees relieved against the gold. St. Barbara's tormentors and even to a certain extent the hermit

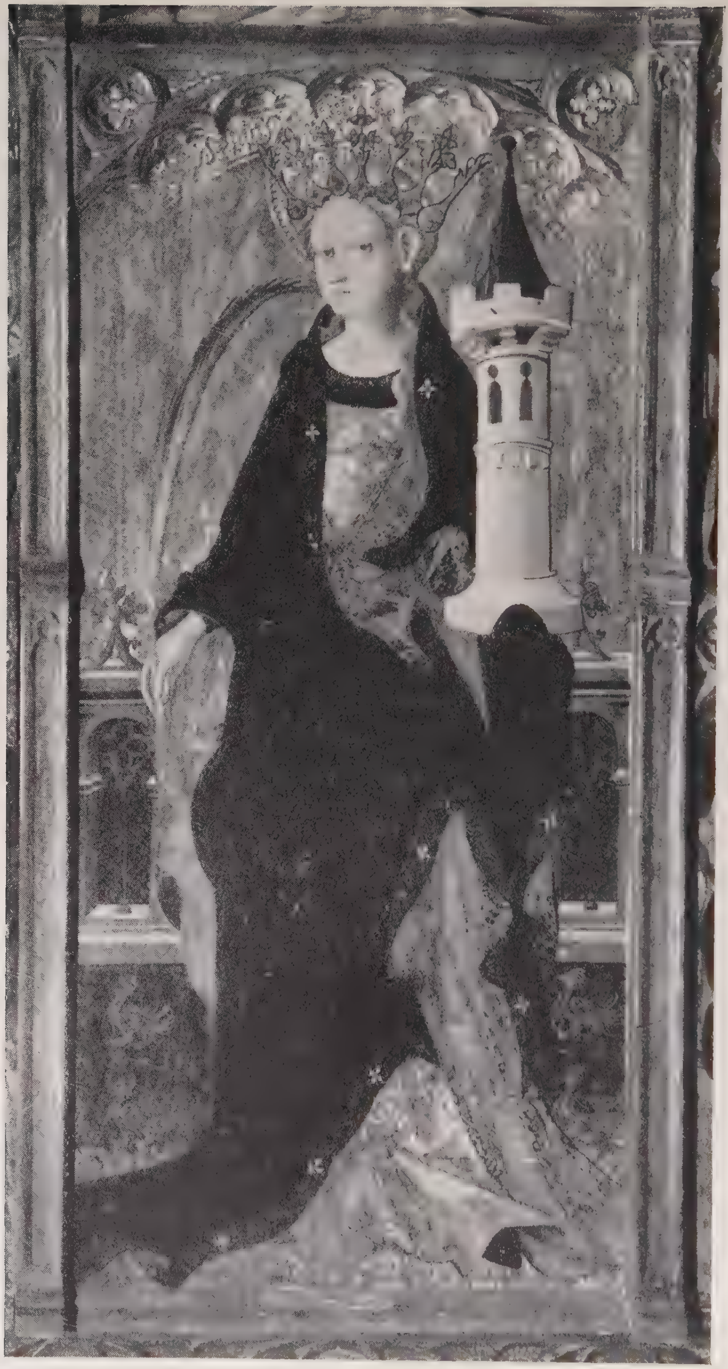

Fig. 276. CIRCLE OF MARZAL DE SAS. ST. BARBARA, CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE. BOSCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Courtesy of Don Rómulo Bosch)

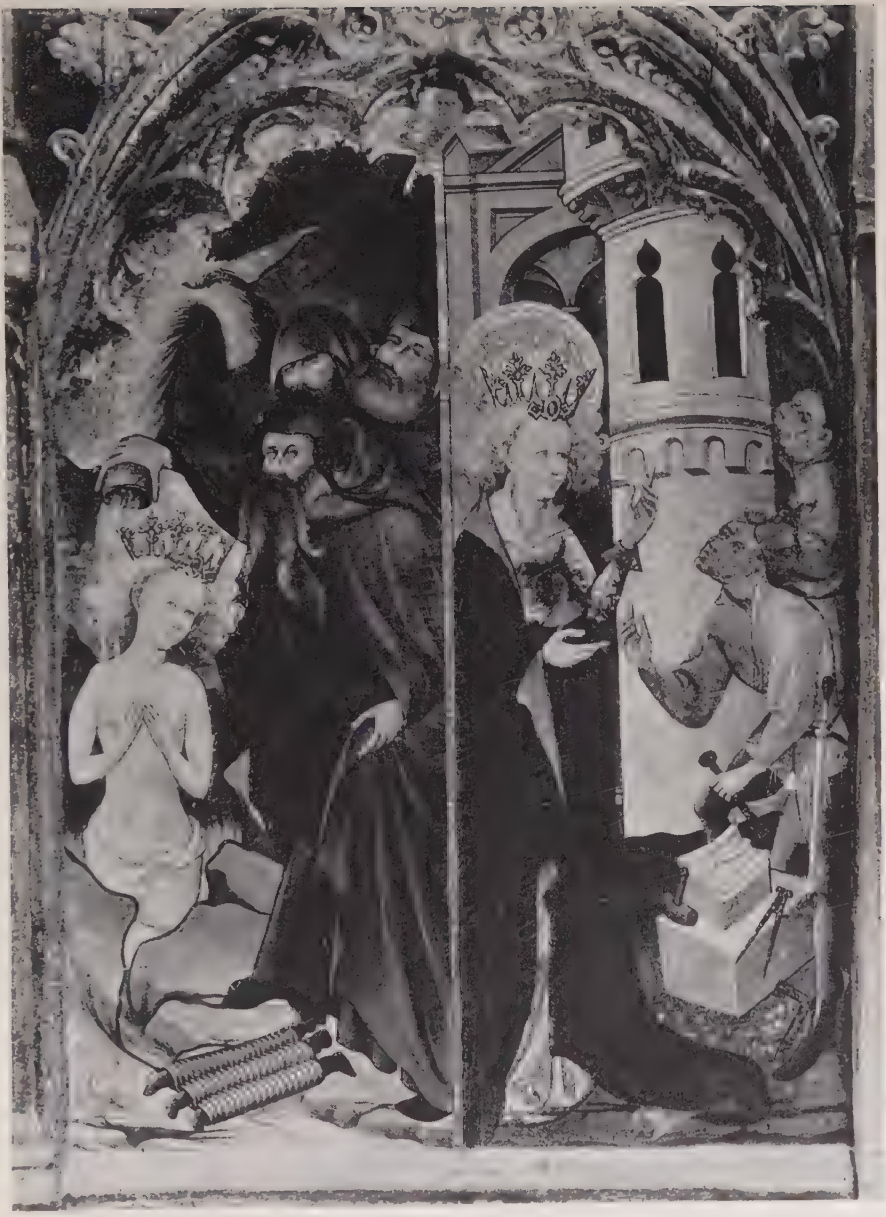

Fig. 277. CIRCLE OF MARZAL DE SAS. THE BAPTISM OF ST. BARBARA AND THE BUILDING OF THE TOWER, SECTION OF RETABLE OF ST. BARBARA. BOSCH COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Courtesy of Don Rómulo Bosch)

who christens her are cast in the mold of the harsh characterizations of Andrés Marzal. The actual executioners are marked by the absolute brutalization and by the jerky violence of movement to which the international artists and especially Marzal resort as a mode of disparagement. The ugliness, as usual, is frequently emphasized by scrawniness but in one instance by corpulence. The nearest approach to Marzal's actual types is the man who presides at the stoning, and yet the hand does not seem to be that of Marzal but rather of some member of the same tradition working perhaps as late as *c.* 1420. The representations of St. Barbara, especially in the lateral compartments, possess to a high degree the ethereal note that sounds so often in Valencian art. The mother of Our Lord in the predella, on the other hand, is conceived with a depth of feeling, stressed by the solemn breadth of drapery, which is seldom encountered at this period in a figure thus stereotyped as a constituent of the common theme in this part of a retable, the dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John. The tonality in the altarpiece is of the more garish nature that distinguishes the "manner of Guimerá" and the related Valencian school from the Catalan tradition of the Serras. By the same hand is the second piece from Puertomingalvo in the Collection, the central fragment of a retable of St. Christopher consisting of the principal panel with the effigy of the saint surmounted by the Crucifixion. The identity of authorship is proved, among other things, by the fact that the Crucifixion is a repetition of the example in the St. Barbara altarpiece. It is possible, though not necessary, to interpret the countenance of St. Christopher as affected by the Germanic strain.

If the painters Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez were the authors of the panel of Sts. Clement and Martha in the New Sala Capitular of the cathedral of Valencia (Fig. 278), then they too were exponents of the Teutonic tendency, probably through the influence of Marzal de Sas. The evidence for the attribution is the following. The iconographic juxtaposition of these two saints is too extraordinary to permit a doubt that the panel is a fragment of a lost retable once in the chapel of the cathedral under their double invocation. The masculine saint has no other attributes than the papal tiara, but he is identified as St.

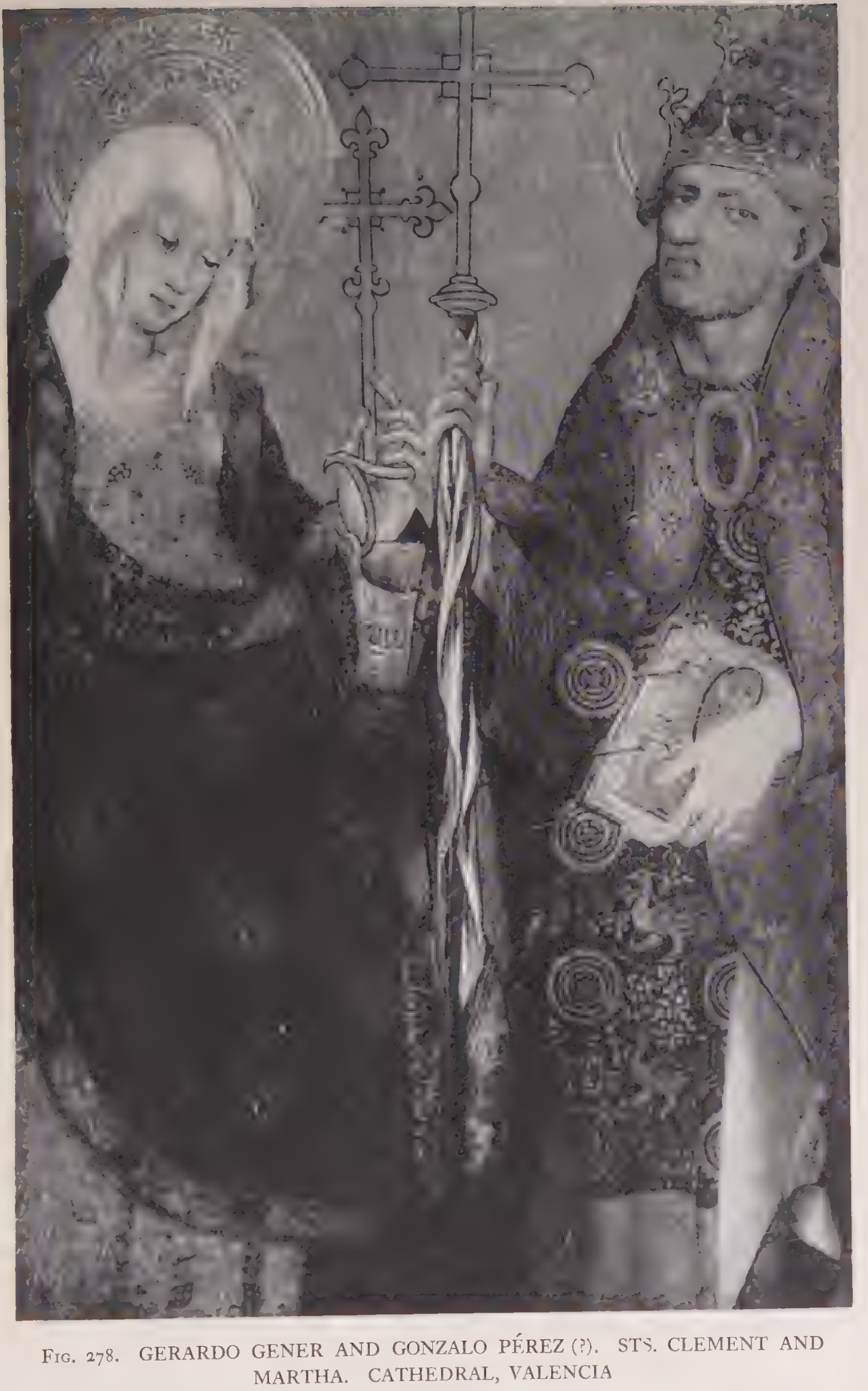

Fig. 278. GERARDO GENER AND GONZALO PÉREZ (?). STS. CLEMENT AND MARTHA. CATHEDRAL, VALENCIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Clement because again it is impossible to account for the union of a papal saint with St. Martha except on the ground that a chapel existed dedicated to them both. For the fact that the two above-mentioned artists executed a retable for this chapel, we have the authority of an as yet unpublished book in the archives of the cathedral, the *Recopilación de especies perdidas pertenecientes á esta Santa Iglesia Metropolitana*, etc., a vast accumulation of documents and data in regard to the church written by a priest, Juan Pahoner, who began his work in 1756. Since Pahoner has the custom of basing his statements upon documents[1] and since from other sources it is known that the two painters were contemporary with the style evinced by the picture, the case would appear, on the face of it, to be complete for the ascription to Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez. But there are certain difficulties. One of them may be dismissed without many qualms, the possibility that two retables were done for the chapel about the same time, for it is highly improbable that so small a space would have harbored two such structures. The other difficulty is somewhat more serious. Just before 1439 the chapel was so seriously injured (by fire?) in a mystery play on the Assumption that in this year it had to be totally repaired.[2] Several unanswerable questions thus present themselves. Had the two painters done the altarpiece before the havoc wrought by the play and was it utterly destroyed by the catastrophe? Tormo[3] definitely places the panel of Sts. Clement and Martha in the year 1421, but, since I do not know his authority, I cannot judge how much evidence there is for this date. Is, then, the extant panel a section of another retable made as a replacement, after the disaster, by someone else whose name is not recorded? Or was the original retable not ruined, or ruined only in part, so that the panel of the two saints remains to us? Or was it Gener and Pérez, both of whom may have well been alive in 1439, who did the new altarpiece in substitution for that which may have been lost? In view of these perplexities, the proper attitude towards the matter of the joint authorship is a moderate scepticism.

---

[1] J. Sanchis y Sivera, *La catedral de Valencia*, p. xii.

[2] *Ibid.*, 361.

[3] *Levante*, cxxxiii and 95.

The documented dates of Gonzalo Pérez's activity are 1405 to 1423, but he is in all probability identical with the Gonzalo Pérez Sarria who is mentioned from 1430 to 1440 and with the Gonzalo Sarria recorded from 1431 to 1438. Indeed, Gonzalo Pérez Sarria is sometimes described in the documents as Gonzalo Pérez *alias* Sarria. Gerardo Gener is a more knotty problem. A painter of this name (though the surname is here spelt Janer) signs a receipt at Barcelona in 1390; Gudiol states that he was already living at Barcelona in 1368[1]; and Puiggarí conjectures that he may have been entered in a Barcelona registry before 1360.[2] At Valencia in 1401 or 1407[3] but still styled a citizen of Barcelona, he contracts for a very unusual commission that constitutes another link between Spanish and Italian art of the period, a (lost) retable for the cathedral of Monreale in Sicily, of which the Catalan sculptor Pedro Sanglada was to do the statue of the Virgin. The data hitherto enumerated manifestly refer to one and the same painter; if he was already an adult before 1360 or in 1368, he could scarcely have executed after 1439 the Sts. Clement and Martha panel now in the cathedral of Valencia, and in that case the painter of this panel would not have been identical with the master of Barcelona. But it is far from certain that the panel belongs to so late a date, and definite documentary evidence exists that Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez were already partners in 1405, when they contracted to do a retable for the chapel of Sts. Dominic, Cosmas, and Damian (now of St. Catherine) in the cathedral of Valencia, and in 1407, when they jointly acknowledged payment for their work. It is not possible, as has sometimes been contended, that two panels with effigies of Sts. Cosmas and Damian which have entered the Museo Diocesano at Valencia (Nos. 22 and 23) from the Archiepiscopal Palace are relics of this retable, for the two fragments in question belong to the style of the Renaissance at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Gonzalo Pérez almost certainly would not have been the partner of one Gerardo Gener in 1405 and then of another when the Sts. Clement and Martha retable was executed. If, then, Pérez's partner was the Barcelona painter, we should have to place this retable considerably before 1439 (whether or not Tormo's date of 1421 is correct and whether or not the extant panel is a part of the retable). On the whole, the question must still be left open in regard to the identity of Pérez's partner with his homonym of Barcelona, although the likelihood inclines towards the affirmative. If there was no such identity, Gerardo Gener, the collaborator of Pérez in 1405, might have still been working with him in 1440.

---

[1] *Els trescentistes*, 173.

[2] *Noticia de algunos artistas catalanes inéditos, Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, III (1880), 268; Sanpere y Miquel, *Els trescentistes*, 266.

[3] The year is not stated in the document and is a conjecture: see *Archivio storico siciliano*, IV (1879), 460–461.

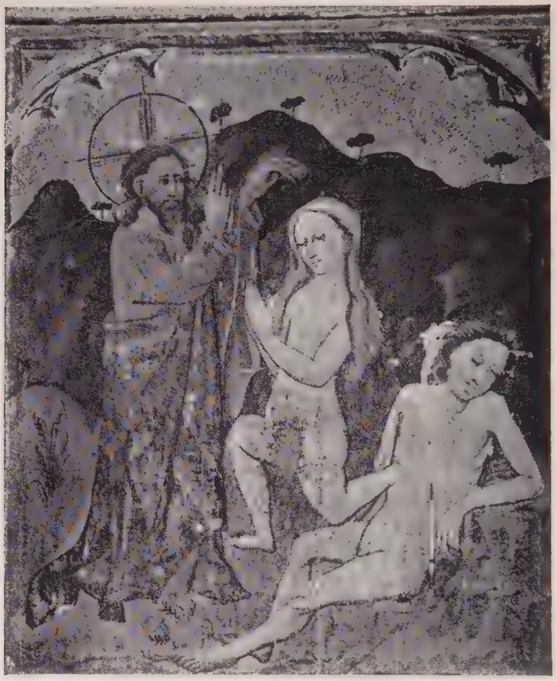

Fig. 279. CIRCLE OF MARZAL DE SAS (?). CREATION OF EVE, SECTION OF RETABLE OF THE TRINITY. AUGUSTINIAN CONVENT, RUBIELOS DE MORA

(Photo. Cardona)

The extant panel certainly is affected by the German strain incorporated in Marzal de Sas. St. Clement's countenance is realistic almost to the point of Gothic caricature. Even St. Martha is a rather Teutonic type of womanhood, and this impression is accentuated by the great swelling fold of her blue mantle drawn across her rich, gold tunic. Several factors point to a moment as late as Tormo's 1421 or at least a decade after the Incredulity of St. Thomas ascribed to Marzal de Sas in 1400, and even the date of 1440 would not be absolutely impossible. The bodies have less of the pinched qualities that mark Gothic draughtsmanship at the turn of the century, and the grasp on the rendering of the human form seems more secure and more mature. In particular, the patterns in the brocades worn by both saints are larger and more ostentatious than was the earlier Valencian custom.

The retable of the Trinity that has now been moved from a chapel in the church of the Augustinian convent at Rubielos de Mora to the *clausura* of the institution is a work of considerable merit that should be catalogued among the Valencian pictures of the beginning of the fifteenth century and probably among those under the influence of Marzal de Sas. The affiliation is embodied in the somewhat Germanic types rather than in an imitation of Marzal's addiction to caricature. The central panel of the Trinity, surmounted by the Crucifixion, is flanked on the left by three scenes of the creation (Fig. 279) and on the right by two episodes of the fall of man and by the visit of the three angels to Abraham; the predella is devoted to the Passion. The coupling of the episodes from Genesis with the central Trinity is due to the Church's stress upon the creation on Trinity Sunday and to the interpretation of the three angels as the Persons of the Godhead.

A fusion of the style represented by Pedro Nicolau and of that represented by Marzal de Sas, but with the latter less pronounced than in the Holy Cross altarpiece, is incorporated in a retable reported to have come from the chapel of the Knights of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Valencia but now broken into sections that are divided between the Metropolitan Museum and Hispanic Society at New York. The date must be about 1420. The Metropolitan Museum contains a large standing effigy of St. Giles and two smaller compartments depicting Our Lord and the angels casting the devils out of heaven and the commission to the Apostles to evangelize the world (Fig. 280). The parts in the Hispanic Society are the corresponding figure of St. Vincent, three still smaller compartments of the Flagellation, Entombment, and *Noli me tangere*, and the tallest and broadest of the panels, enshrining the Ascension (Fig. 281). Despite stylistic differences between the Ascension and the other parts, there is enough community of manner to confirm the evidence provided by the history of the altarpiece and by the identical moldings of the frames that we have to do with a single work and not with a conglomeration of modern assembling. Furthermore, the strange mode of representing the arms of the cross in Christ's halo by four blocks may be seen both in the Ascension and in the rest of the altar. But the iconographic juxtapositions are certainly queer. The two scenes of the Passion, the *Noli me tangere*, and the mission of the Apostles, although the last is of unusual occurrence, are logical parts of a retable the centre of which displayed the Ascension; but the fight with the demons is a strange member of the series, unless it was conceived as a continuation of Christ's triumph after the first Easter. He dominates indeed, in this compartment, the angelic host and carries the Resurrection banner. The fall of Lucifer and his minions is customarily conceived to have taken place before the world was, but the war in heaven described in the twelfth chapter of Revelation might well be understood as a prophecy of a second cosmic struggle in which the ascended Redeemer was to join. In any case, the appearance of monumental effigies of Sts. Vincent and Giles in the environment of a retable dedicated to the Saviour remains curious. Sacred medleys of this sort, however, are not absolutely unparalleled, especially in large and pretentious works such as Borrassá's retable of St. Clara at Vich or the Aragonese retable of the Virgen de la Esperanza in the cathedral of Tudela, where St. Giles again appears as a collateral subject; and still further parts of the Valencian altarpiece now under discussion have undoubtedly been lost. Mr. Cyril Bruyn Andrews, who formerly owned the sections now in the Hispanic Society, has attempted to reconstruct[1] the plan of the altarpiece, placing at the left, next to the Ascension, the three small compartments once in his possession, then, at the extreme left, his St. Vincent, and, in balance to all this, on the right of the Ascension, the pieces in the Metropolitan Museum, first the two narrative

---

[1] *Connoisseur*, LIX (1921), 146–148.

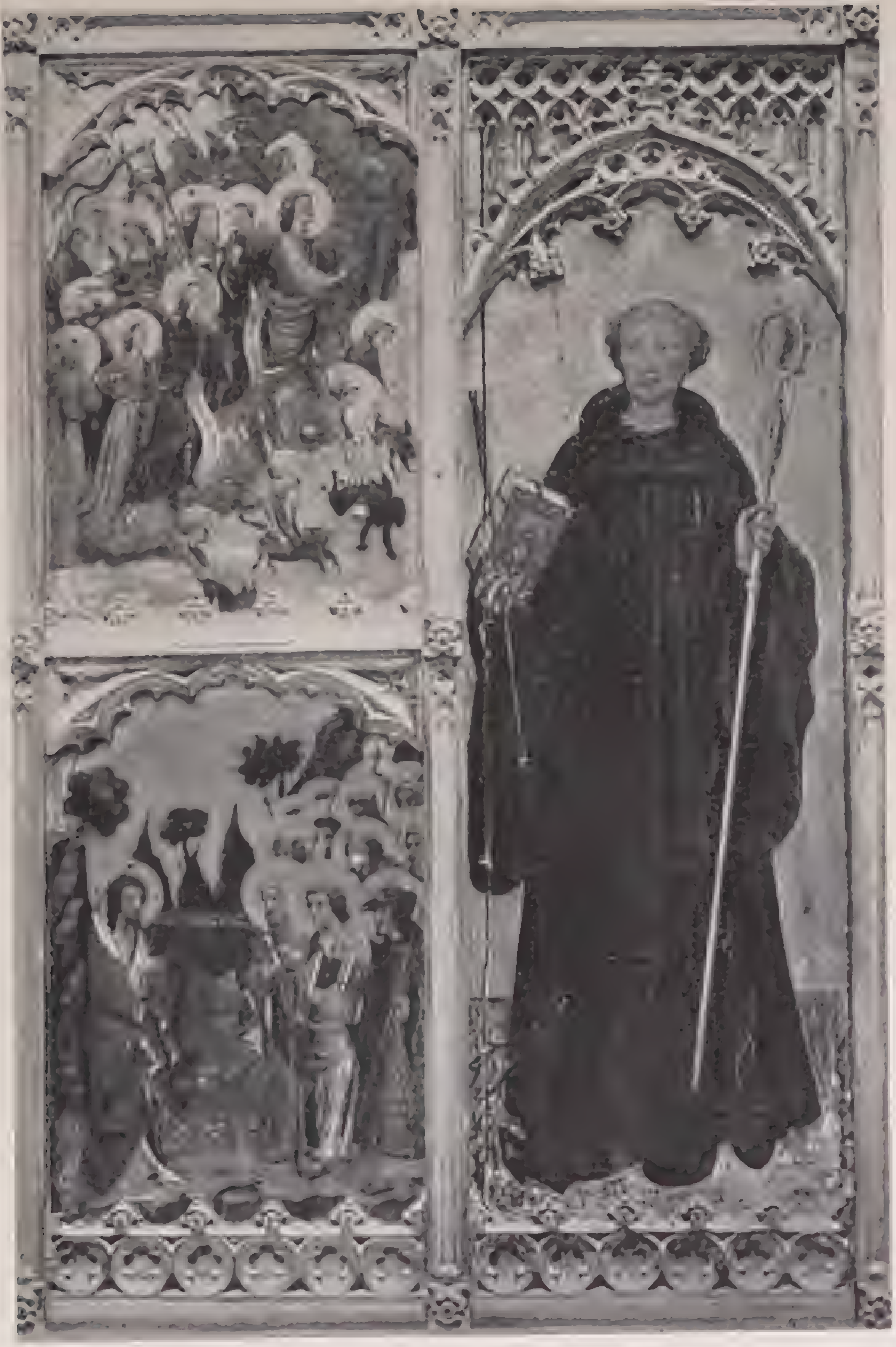

Fig. 280. CIRCLE OF NICOLAU AND MARZAL DE SAS. ST. GILES, THE WAR IN HEAVEN, AND THE COMMISSION OF THE APOSTLES, SECTION OF RETABLE. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum)

scenes and finally the St. Giles. But I cannot bring myself to believe that the symmetrically minded Spaniards would have tolerated three and two small compartments in balance; and I should prefer to imagine that the Flagellation, Entombment, and *Noli me tangere* come from another division of the retable, perhaps from the predella, and that the two scenes which formed a pendant to the celestial battle and the mission of the Apostles have disappeared.

The Ascension constitutes a later and very faithful persistence of the style in which Pedro Nicolau won his spurs. It is one of the most Italianate of Valencian mediaeval paintings, indeed so Italianate that it might easily be mistaken for the work of some painter in the *entourage* of Don Lorenzo Monaco. It exhibits that same survival, in the Quattrocento, of the Gothic forms of the Trecento which defines Lorenzo's art, and there is the same dependence upon Siena. The gently majestic Christ in the mandorla is clothed in Lorenzo's flowing but angular draperies. In this figure the Valencian master, whoever he was, attained an aesthetic standard for which an Italian and even an Italian of considerable distinction would not have blushed. The Virgin and kneeling Apostles below, especially the St. John, are permeated by a thoroughly Sienese delicacy. There is little to mark the panel as Spanish or as related to the Germanizing phase of Valencian art. The types of two or three of the Apostles are merely touched by this tendency, for instance the one to the left of the Virgin (the spectator's right). In the rest of the altarpiece familiarity with the manner of Marzal de Sas is more patent, creating a difference in style that suggests the hypothesis of one of those collaborations of two masters in the execution of a retable which are so frequently mentioned in the Valencian documents. Yet even in these other sections the ingredient of a certain amount of the Nicolau manner suppresses an extreme manifestation of the Teutonic peculiarities and once again demonstrates the fact that all the sections, including the Ascension, belong to the same monument. If more evidence were necessary, it would be provided by the similar delicacy in the heads of St. John in the Ascension and of St. Vincent. The long-pointed noses of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, which is probably by Marzal de Sas, and of the

Centenar altar of St. George are clearly visible, for example, in the Christ of the expulsion of the demons and of the commissioning of the Apostles and in the Sts. John and James of the latter scene; but they are less pronounced and less close to caricature. The Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea in the Entombment have a mild form of German sternness. Almost all the personages possess a luxuriance of curly hair that may be

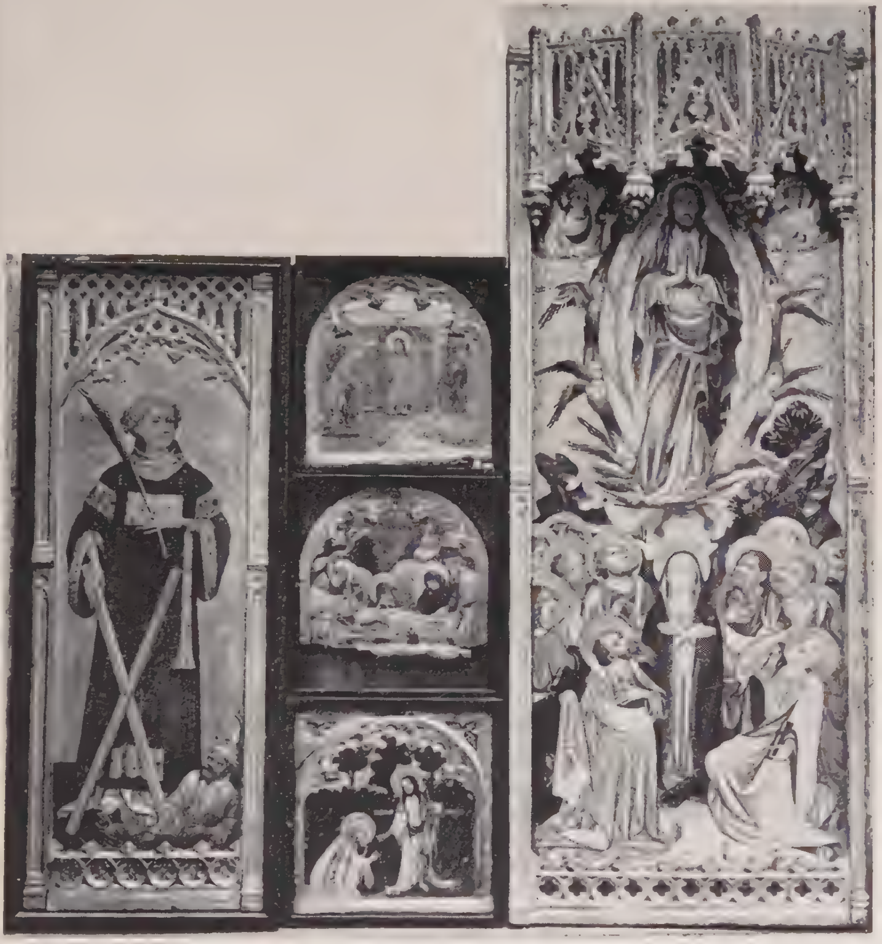

Fig. 281. CIRCLE OF NICOLAU AND MARZAL DE SAS. ST. VINCENT, SCENES FROM THE PASSION, AND THE ASCENSION, SECTION OF RETABLE. HISPANIC SOCIETY, NEW YORK

(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum)

paralleled in the panel of the Incredulity and, more exactly, here and there in the retable of the Holy Cross. One feels remote German prototypes somewhat intangibly but none the less surely also in the countenances of the rather nobly monumental Sts. Vincent and Giles, who are better pieces of painting than the more summarily executed narrative compartments. Yet even these sections have their virtues. In particular, an original and effective composition is given to the hurling of the devils from heaven: the cloud-bank containing Christ and the angels is carried as a broad diagonal across the face of the panel, and in the lower right corner a formal rhythm of repetition is created in the line of four angels discomfiting as many demons. On the Christ of the mission to the Apostles and the *Noli me tangere* the desire for ample garments of undulating Gothic lines is exaggerated and too obvious.

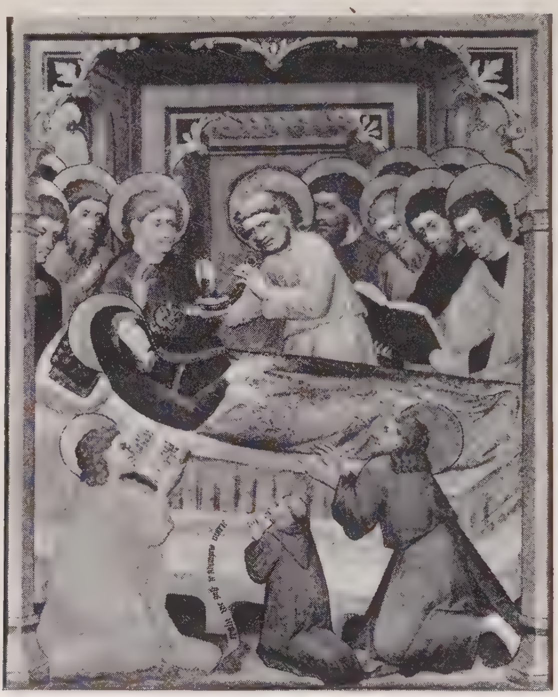

Fig. 282. CIRCLE OF MARZAL DE SAS (?). DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

Until further information is forthcoming in regard to its ultimate provenience, a fragment of a retable depicting the Death of the Virgin (Fig. 282), which has been presented to the National Gallery, London (No. 4190), by Viscount Rothermere, may be recorded at this point because the nearest analogue known to me is the retable that has just been discussed. The composition, however, is not the same as that of the Dormition in the Johnson Collection, which is an earlier member of this group of Valencian pictures. In the centre, below the bed, kneels the somewhat dwarfed form of a Franciscan, perhaps as donor, carrying a scroll upon which is inscribed: "Trahe me post te, asumptio (*sic*) Marie (Mariae)"; and in the left corner an Apostle, likewise upon his knees, holds open a book in which are written parts of the one hundred and thirteenth Psalm. Since the products of the international movement more or less approximate one another in all the schools of Spain, it is not absolutely out of the question that the panel comes from some other region of the peninsula. The most likely guess would be Andalusia if the attribution to Valencia is rejected. But the Valencian impress seems very clear, and indeed the specific impress of the manner of the Sts. Giles and Vincent altar; might it be one of the lost sections of this structure? The types are very similar to those of the small lateral compartments of this altar, although the peculiar pointing of the noses is not carried to such an extreme. The similarity becomes virtual identity if the figure with the palm (St. John?) to the left of the censing St. Peter is compared with the St. John of the commission to the Apostles or with the Christ expelling the demons. A Morellian piece of evidence is the reappearance, on many of the Apostles at the Virgin's death, of exactly that mannerism of a series of large, frizzed locks, almost as if they were a wig, which is a distinguishing trait of the Sts. Giles and Vincent retable. The coverlet of the Virgin's bed is one of the brilliantly red fabrics brocaded with gold so characteristic of the Valencian school.

3. Later Examples of the Germanic Tendency

Of the more uncontaminated Germanizing tendency, a later expression is provided by two works possibly by a single hand, a Pietà in the New Sala Capitular of the Valencian cathedral and an Entombment in a chapel of the monastic church of El Puig, just north of the capital. In the heads of Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea and of the other masculine figures in the background of the Pietà (Fig. 283), not only is the proclivity for vivid characterization carried, as in the Centenar altarpiece, further towards caricature than in the panel of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, but the physical types are almost equal to those of the pictures attached to the name of Marzal de Sas. Even the holy women and St. John are somewhat Teutonic in their nature. But the less gaunt and less Gothic quality of the picture would imply a date about 1425. Certain items, moreover, anticipate the traits of Jacomart. The Virgin wears one of his gold and black brocades; and in the setting there may be seen a bit of a castellated town, strangely like those Gothic cities which, occupying the distant vista in Jacomart's paintings and quite *sui generis*, are a trade-mark of his manner. An analogous composition for the Pietà at Morella will demand our subsequent consideration as belonging to the second half of the fifteenth century.

The beautifully preserved Entombment of El Puig is more grandiose, perhaps somewhat later, and certainly more masterful (Fig. 284). Measuring two metres in breadth and almost two and a half metres in height, it was not a part of a retable but a large, separate picture with its own *guardapolvos* on which are represented effigies of Prophets and heraldic escutcheons. The gold background, by exception in Valencia, is diapered throughout, but the borders are featured as usual and treated with a more elaborate pattern. Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea are again very much the same Germanic types that we have now so often encountered, although less caricatured than in the Pietà of the cathedral at Valencia, and the women and St. John do not deny such a kinship. The greater amplitude and monumentality observed in the Pietà, however, are here still further accentuated. It is almost certain, indeed, that

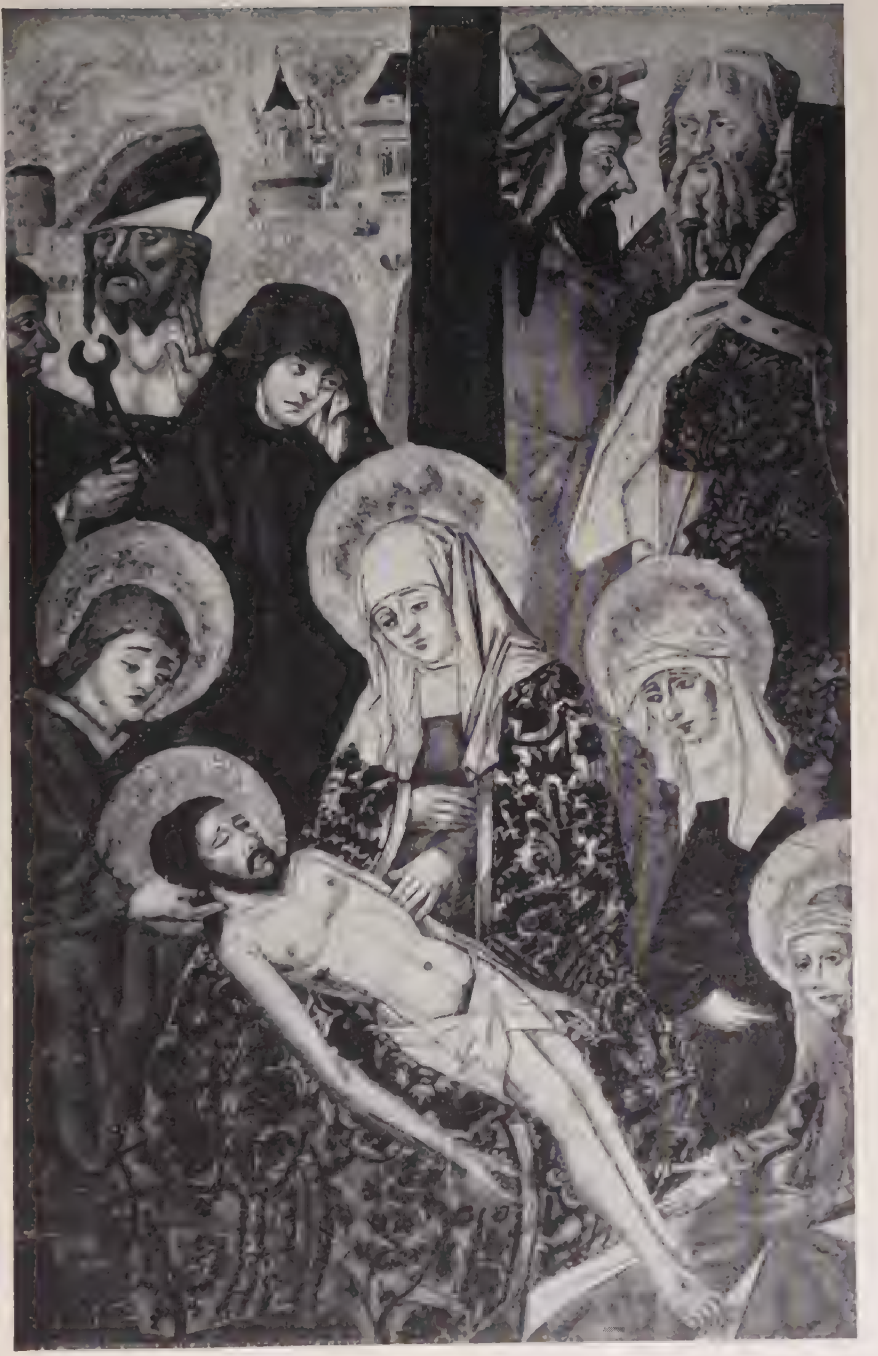

Fig. 283. SCHOOL OF MARZAL DE SAS. PIETÀ. CATHEDRAL, VALENCIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the painter was familiar with the achievements of Burgundian sculpture of the early fifteenth century either on their original hearth or in their transplantations to Spain. The forms and draperies of Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea have a Burgundian breadth, and a small but none the less significant detail reveals the direction from which the wind was blowing, one of the Prophets of the *guardapolvos* sitting on a stool with his

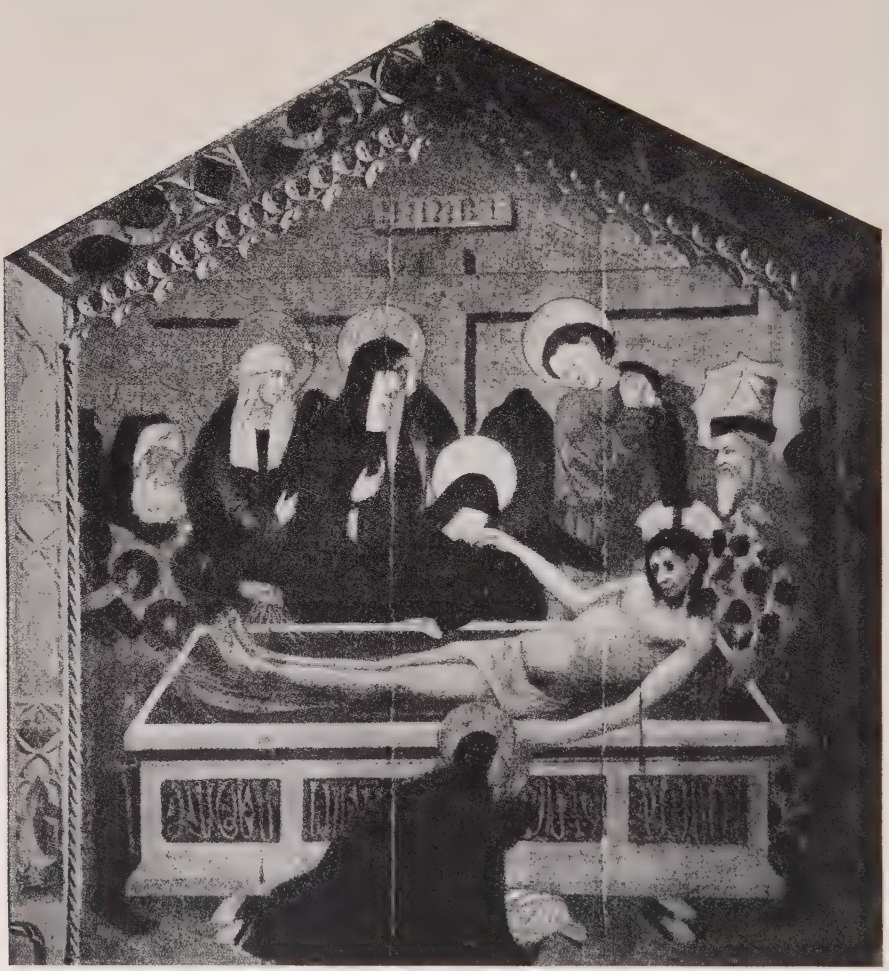

Fig. 284. SCHOOL OF MARZAL DE SAS. ENTOMBMENT. MONASTIC CHURCH, EL PUIG

(From "Provincia de Valencia," II, by C. Sarthou)

back towards the spectator in a way that recalls the humorous touches among the little mourners on the tombs by Claus Sluter and his followers. The monumentality and the conspicuousness of the red and gold brocades tend to support the claim, which has been advanced for this painter by certain critics, of having been the master of Jacomart. The hypothesis would be further strengthened if we could be sure that we were right in discerning, not only Burgundian qualities, but also precedent for Jacomart's interest in the nascent Flemish school. St. John is perhaps rather a Flemish than a German type, and his face is contorted into one of those unconvincing grimaces of sorrow that are native to the painting of the Low Countries. The richer tonality, as compared with the usual color of the international movement, is possibly reflected from Flanders. The Germanizing manner is so ennobled that only a short interval separates the Entombment from that style of the St. Martin triptych in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, which also retains some Teutonic elements but which we shall find, in its greater placidity and more obvious aestheticism, is still closer to the attainment of Jacomart, even if the author of the picture at El Puig was perchance his actual teacher. That some relationship existed between the authors of the Entombment and the St. Martin triptych, is indicated by the similarity of the ostentatious gold brocades worn by St. Martin and Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea. Mayer may be right in his contention that the master of El Puig is identical with the painter of the Pietà in the cathedral of Valencia. The resemblance is not only general but includes such details as the similar and curious white headdress for one of the attendant women in each picture and, on Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, the scalloping of the edges of the polygonal halo that betokens worthies of the old Hebrew dispensation. If we have indeed here to do with a single personality, could it possibly be Enrique, the son of Andrés Marzal de Sas, whom we know to have plied at least one phase of an artist's career, that of the silversmith, at which his father apprenticed him in 1407, and who, if he was also a painter, would have naturally developed further the paternal style?

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE "DÉTENTE" OF THE GERMANIC TENDENCY AT VALENCIA

In a certain number of works belonging to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the German manner is broadened and ennobled, the figures are likely to assume a greater monumentality, the Teutonic asperities are somewhat softened, the mood grows more placid, the nervous agitation of Marzal de Sas is hushed, and the pictures are here and there brightened by a fondness for "international" prettiness. The style constitutes a kind of *détente* or relaxation of the harshness of the German manner, as if in preparation for the serene painting of Jacomart: the Teutonic qualities are still unmistakably present but in a milder and modified form. One would like to connect this style with the name of the artist who was apparently the outstanding personage in the Valencian world of painting just before the rise of Jacomart, Antonio Guerau. His activity may be traced from 1411 to 1439, he was painter to the city of Valencia, and in 1425 he already enjoyed the position of painter to the king, Alfonso V. Unfortunately, however, we lack the right to make the identification, for no documents ascribe to him any of the works in this style or, for that matter, any extant pictures whatsoever.[1]

The principal example of the style is the large and masterful triptych, again from the monastery of Portaceli, in the Provincial Museum, Valencia, displaying in the central panel St. Martin and the beggar and in the lateral panels standing effigies of St. Ursula (?) and St. Anthony Abbot (Fig. 285). The St. Ursula is still a German type, with the harshness relaxed, and her mantle billows forth in much the same way as upon the St. Martha in the panel of the cathedral belonging to the school of Marzal de Sas. The St. Anthony incorporates a mild form of

---

[1] For a wholly gratuitous attribution to Guerau of a picture in quite a different style, see below, p. 128.

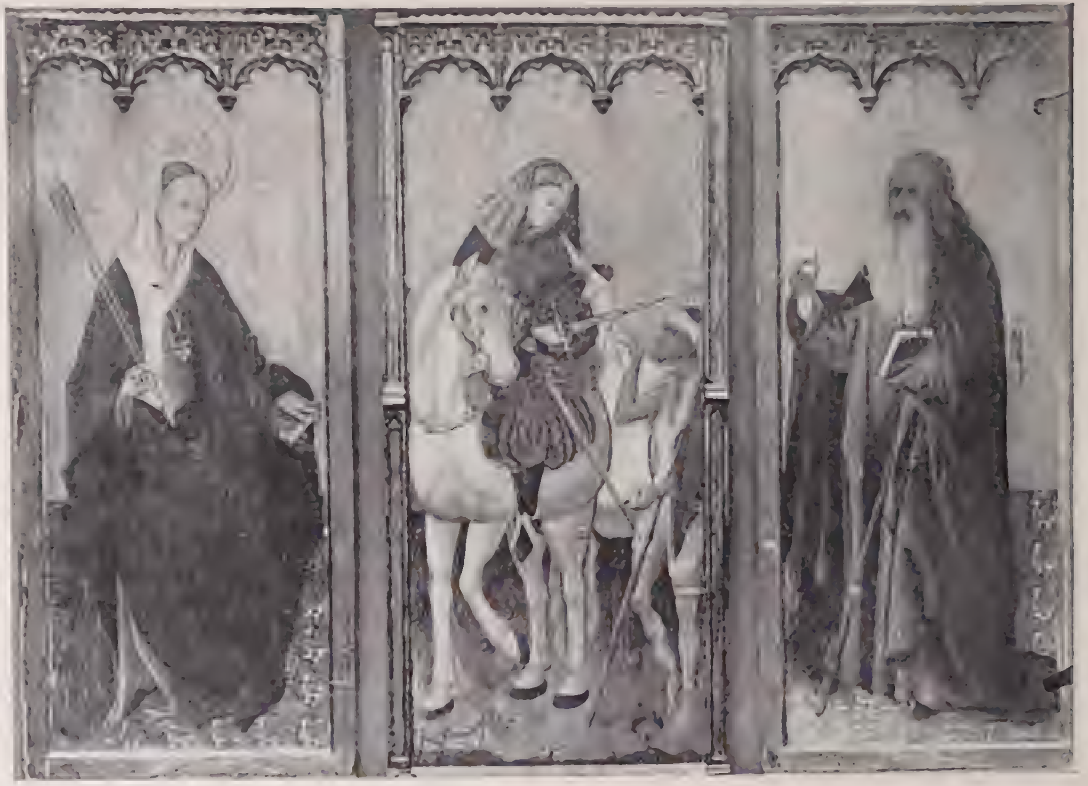

Fig. 285. RETABLE FROM PORTACELI. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

(Photo. Bertaux)

the severity that was to appear in Dürer's Apostles. The draperies of both figures are spreading to a Spanish monumentality. Although the sober and mystic gentleness into which the Teutonic manner has been transmuted in the St. Ursula is preserved in the St. Martin, the amenities of the international style have still further lightened German sternness in this scene of the mounted youthful saint and the beggar, which Valencian painters frequently used as a vehicle for embodying their feeling for delicate charm. St. Martin is clothed in a red and gold brocade with an almost Pisanellesque finery of contemporary costume, and the beggar is one of those gaunt rowdies that we so often encounter in the Catalan manifestations of the Burgundian international style in the circle of the Master of St. George. A relationship to the tendency championed by Marzal de Sas might seem to be definitively confirmed by the virtual identity of the pattern of the tiling upon which St. Ursula and St. Anthony stand, consisting of wheels and fabulous birds, with the *motifs* of the dalmatic of St. Clement in the panel of the cathedral perhaps executed by Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez; but it must be remembered that the same design is found in the stylistically unconnected Catalan retable of La Seo de Urgel. I cannot follow Tormo[1] in his proposition, however tentatively made, to ascribe the triptych to Luis Dalmau.

From exactly the same artistic *milieu* emanated two large panels that may be the work of a single hand and have now strayed from Spain, a St. Bartholomew in the Museum at Worcester, Massachusetts (Fig. 286), and a St. Michael in the National Gallery, Edinburgh (Fig. 287). That this is the very hand of the master of the St. Martin triptych, I cannot be certain, although Mayer, who does not mention the St. Michael in his *Geschichte*, conjecturally ascribes the St. Bartholomew to him. Both pictures possess that lovely merging of a dim Germanic reminiscence with Valencian mysticism which endows the St. Martin triptych with so insinuating a charm, and both exhibit the greater breadth and calm that are transitional to the placid monumentality of the second half of the century. It is noticeable, furthermore, that the patterned side-borders of the gold background assume in all these works the not infre-

---

[1] *Levante*, 147.

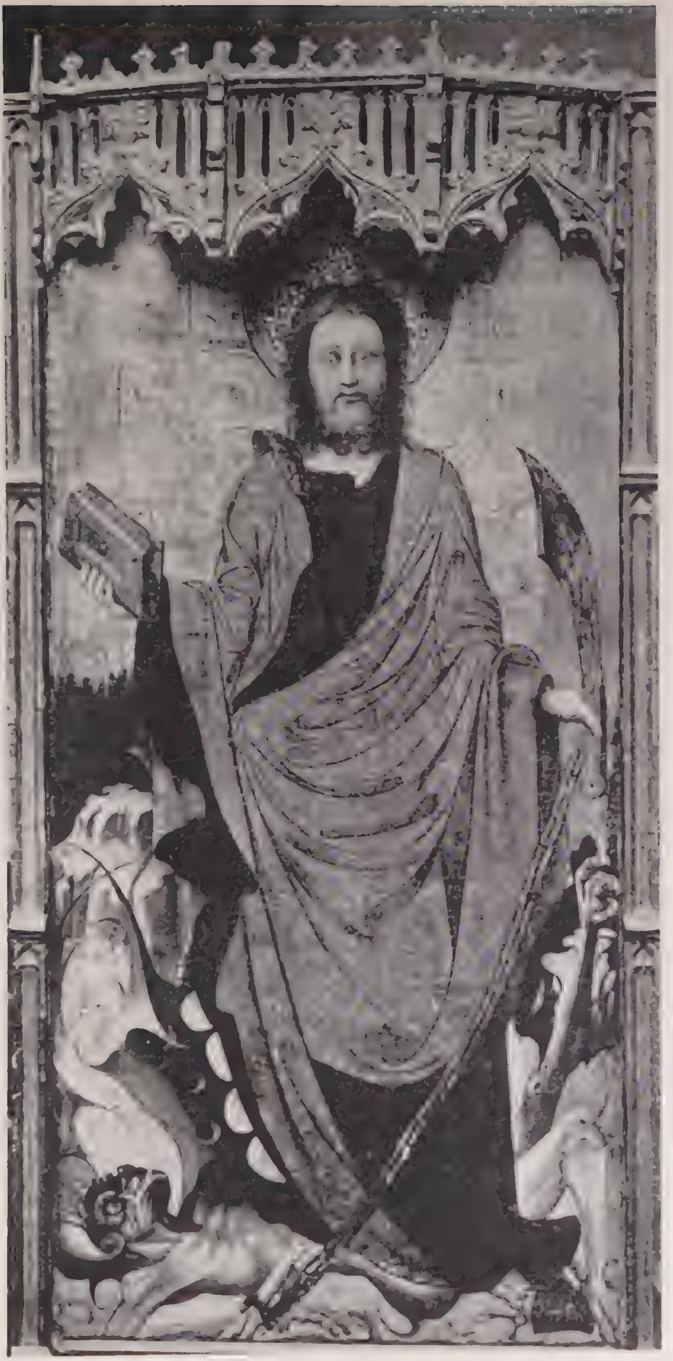

FIG. 286. ST. BARTHOLOMEW. MUSEUM, WORCESTER, MASS.

(Courtesy of the Worcester Museum)

quent Valencian form of the half of a cross, although in the case of the St. Bartholomew the rest of the gold, too, is diapered and with a very ornate floral *motif*. The haloes of Sts. Ursula and Anthony in the St. Martin triptych reveal only very minor variations from the elaborate, incised design of St. Michael's nimbus, which consists of four zones, the first and third constituted by a pattern of grouped dots alternating with a circle, the second and fourth constituted by a *motif* of an oak-leaf. The halo of St. Martin is but slightly different and belongs to the same *genre;* in that of St. Bartholomew the diversity is more marked. The old Gothicism lingers in the Worcester and Edinburgh figures, however, to a greater extent than in the St. Martin triptych, declaring itself in the types, in the disposition of the draperies, and even in the Sienese conventionalization of the rocks. The garments of St. Bartholomew exhibit, in a manner unusual for Spain, such a subordination of color to an impressive linear design that here and there the effect is as of a tinted drawing. The additional evidence for unity of authorship between the St. Bartholomew and St. Michael, though perhaps not decisive, is manifold — for instance, the mystically half-closed eyes, the setting of a grove interposed between the rocks and the gilded sky, the stylization of the rocks behind St. Michael, of the dragon's wings, and of the wings of St. Bartholomew's captive devil into sharp and capricious curves, the stimulating crispness of these bat-like wings in both pictures, the long fold at the left of St. Bartholomew and the long wing at the right of St. Michael forming the same kind of narrow, pointed mass in the composition. According to the custom of Spanish mediaeval painting, the formal design of the composition is made to stand forth plainly enough to catch the eye of the casual spectator. The above-mentioned long fold of St. Bartholomew's mantle, for example, is exactly balanced by the curve of the chain by which he holds Satan. The large-figured gold brocades of St. Bartholomew's and St. Michael's mantles have their counterparts on the St. Martin and in the Entombment of El Puig; the archangel's shock of Medusa-like locks resembles, though not exactly, the hair of many figures in the retable of which the St. Giles and two lateral compartments are in the Metropolitan Museum. The decorative and for-

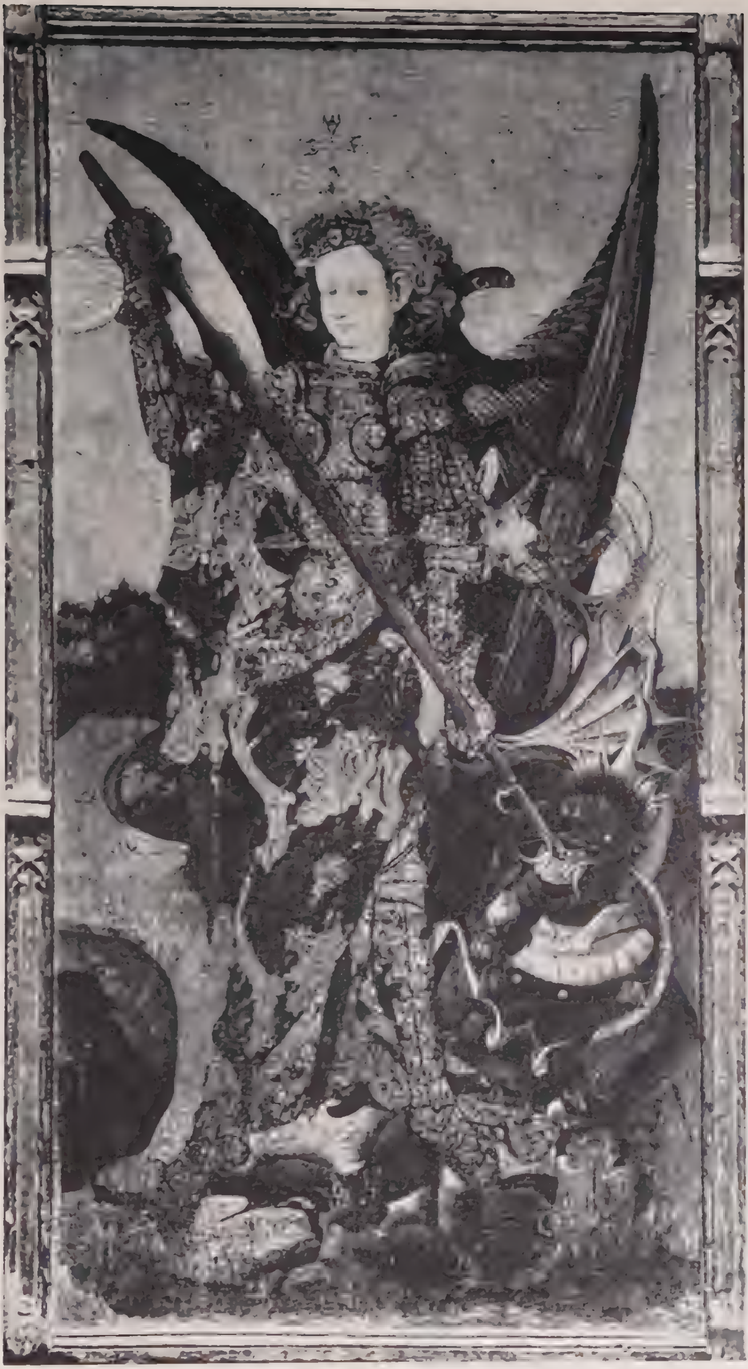

Fig. 287. ST. MICHAEL. NATIONAL GALLERY, EDINBURGH

(Photo Annan and Sons)

malized brilliancy cultivated in such central panels of retables is embodied in the arbitrary and pretty alternation of the green of St. Michael's mantle with the red of its lining, in the painting of the armor with yellow to stand for gold, and in the ruddy and furry splendor of Satan's garb.

To this last phase of the international style at Valencia before its metamorphosis by Jaçomart belong a certain number of fragments of retables in the Provincial and Diocesan Museums of the city, perhaps executed late enough, like the St. Martin triptych, to be contemporary with his early works. Two of these panels, in the Provincial Museum and evidently once the pinnacles of an altarpiece, are themselves episodes from the life of St. Martin, both relating to his acts of charity, his vision of Our Lord as a reward for his youthful gift of half his cloak to a beggar and the miraculous apparition of fire upon his head and golden sleeves upon his wrists as he was celebrating mass after bestowing his tunic upon another mendicant (Fig. 288). In the background of the ecclesiastical interior in the latter subject, the mendicant is introduced seated upon the pavement with his dog, if this be not a mere piece of *genre* like the holy-water stoup, containing an aspergillum, or the bit of a vineyard seen through the door. As so frequently in Spanish painting of this period, the pavement of the church is overtly left unforeshortened so that it rises in the centre of the picture like a wall. The harshness of the Germanizing manner has been pretty well expunged from both panels, and the mood is closer to the pleasant and gentle anecdotal style of Jacomart in narrative scenes. The two feminine worshippers at St. Martin's mass have much of the delicacy of St. Ursula in the triptych. Jacomart's predilection for brightly patterned gold brocades is also abundantly present. In many of these transitional works there are premonitions of the oncoming Flemish stream, as here in the diminutive angels who surround Our Lord in St. Martin's dream or encircle his arms with the marvellous sleeves in the mass or in the type of the Virgin in the little retable represented as painted over the altar at which he officiates.

In the same Museum is a panel representing a saint resuscitating a corpse (Fig. 289), stylistically close enough to the two scenes from the life of St. Martin to be perhaps by the same hand. The subject may indeed be the miracle recounted of St. Martin in the *Golden Legend*, his resurrection of a young son out of mercy to the mother. The mitre held by one of the attendant clergy shows that we have to do with an episcopal saint; a woman tenderly puts her hand upon the head of the man restored to life; and the prelate's halo is similar, though not equal, to those in the other two panels. I should not go so far as

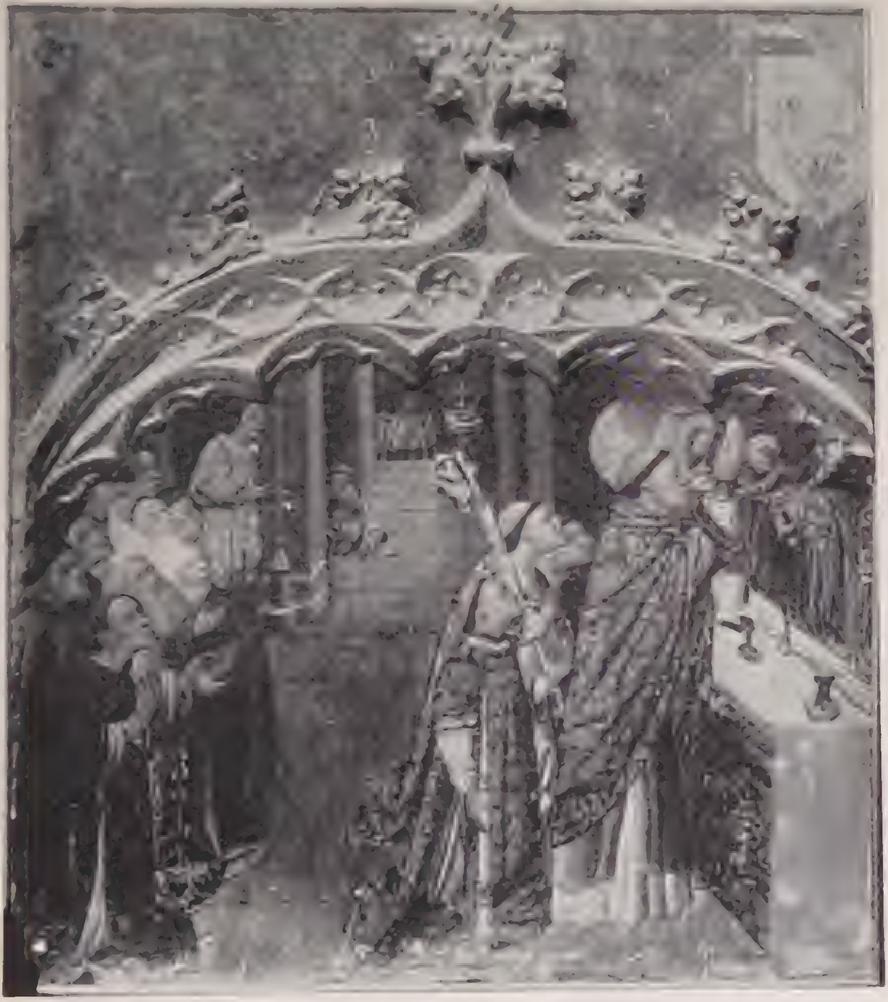

FIG. 288. MASS OF ST. MARTIN, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

to assert that it is part of the same retable, but there are curious resemblances, as, for instance, between the feminine head-dresses or in the mannerism of frequently turning the faces upward on a diagonal line. Yet, in distinction from the panels of the dream and mass of St. Martin, many of the countenances, though not exactly Teutonic in type, have at least the harshness of features that we meet in the productions of the Germanizing

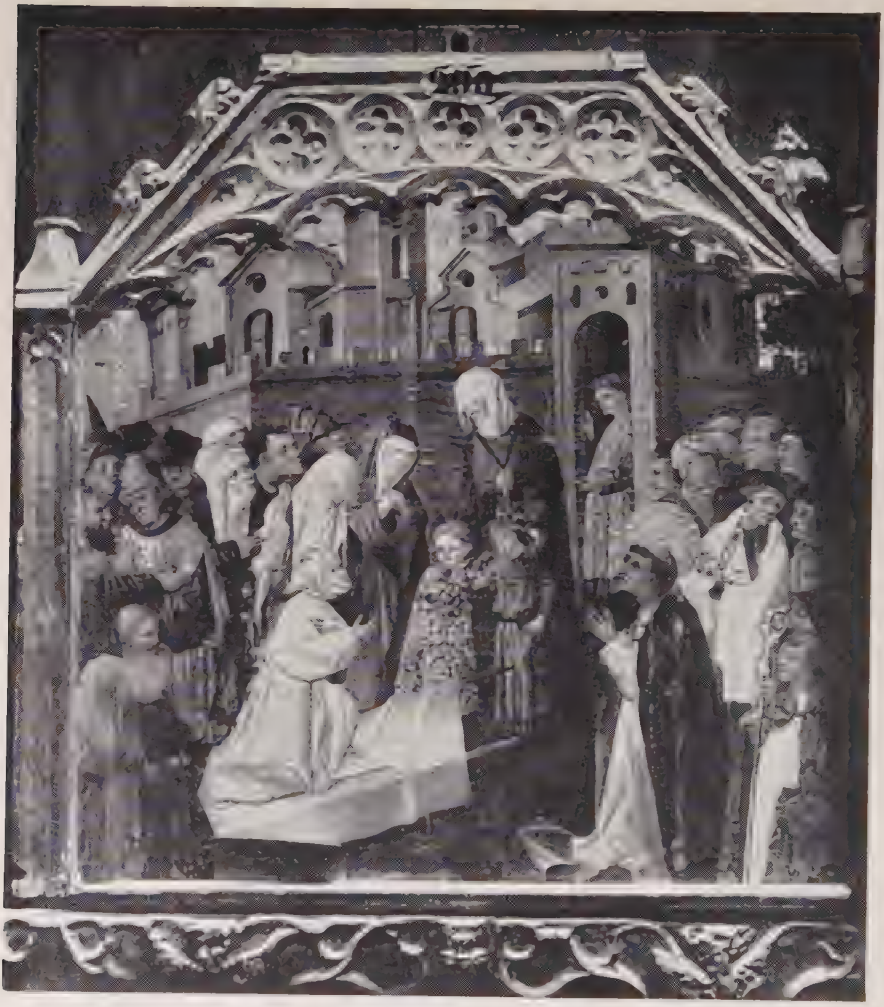

FIG. 289. ST. MARTIN RESUSCITATING A YOUTH (?), FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

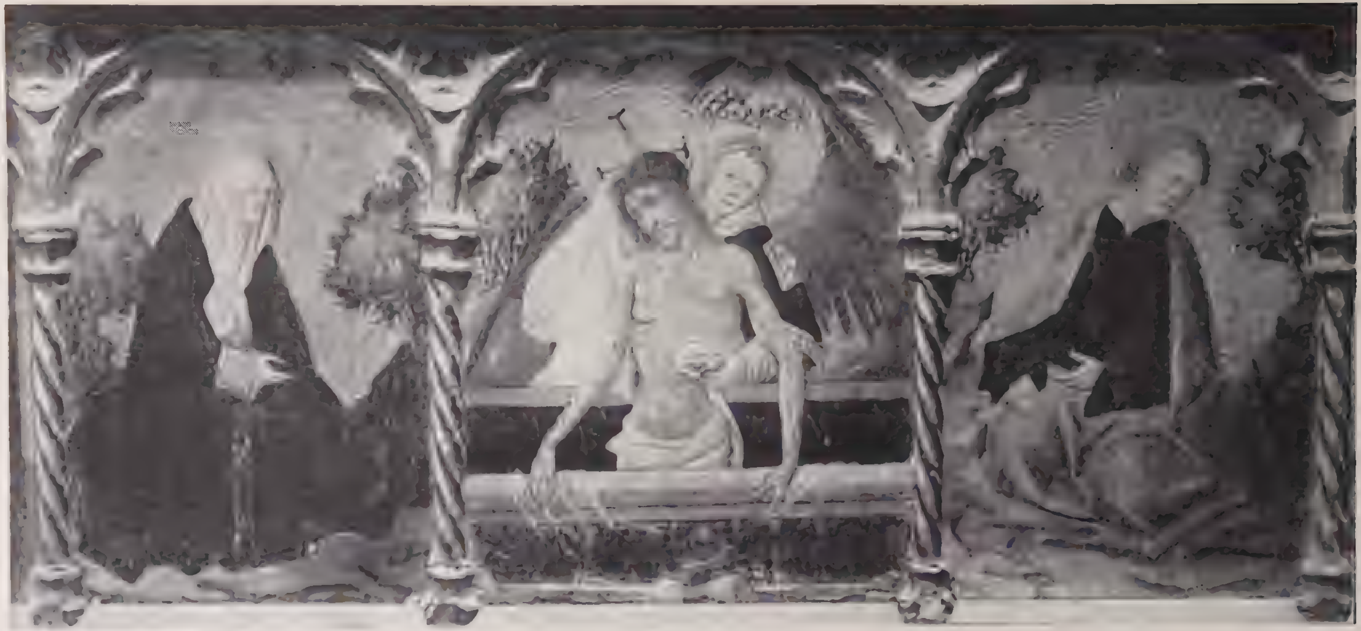

Fig. 290. PIETÀ, CENTRAL SECTION OF A PREDELLA. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

tendency. The architecture of the walled city in the background is still decidedly Giottesque, and it was perhaps this reason that caused Mayer to assign the fragment to Pedro Nicolau, whom he conceives to have been the author of the altarpiece of the Holy Cross. If it were not for the retrogressive nature of the architecture, the style might be described, *mutatis mutandis*, as an inferior analogue to Fra Angelico's early manner. A link with the large St. Martin triptych is provided by the kinship of the old man in the lower left corner to the St. Anthony Abbot. The panel now under consideration and almost all these isolated fragments in the Provincial and Diocesan Museums suggest such Catalan works as the Pobla de Ciérvoles retable of St. Michael or the Magdalene altarpiece at Vich, particularly in the increased chiaroscuro of the draperies and in what seems already a Flemish puckering of the folds.

Somewhat more definitely related to the Teutonic tendency is another fragment of this style in the Provincial Museum, a predella of nine compartments, containing in the three central divisions the dead Christ upheld by an angel, the Virgin, and St. John (Fig. 290) and in the other divisions the four Fathers of the Western Church, Sts. Jerome and Gregory separated by an effigy of St. Onuphrius, and Sts. Ambrose and Augustine by a canonized bishop, all the figures except Christ being represented as seated upon the ground. The picture is connected with other members of the group not only by the technical method but also by such specific factors as the headdress of the Virgin, half veiling her face, and the dreamy mysticism of the countenances of the angel and St. Onuphrius, recalling the St. Bartholomew of Worcester and the St. Michael of Edinburgh. Sts. Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and the unnamed episcopal saint, however, have a forbidding severity very like that of the St. Clement in the panel that was perhaps the work of Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez.

In one of the secretarial offices of the Provincial Museum, furthermore, I have seen a Crucifixion, once a part of a retable, belonging to a moment in Valencian art just before the triumph of Jacomart's style and not very different in manner from the panels of St. Martin's dream and mass.

A piece of a predella in this Museum, containing three scenes

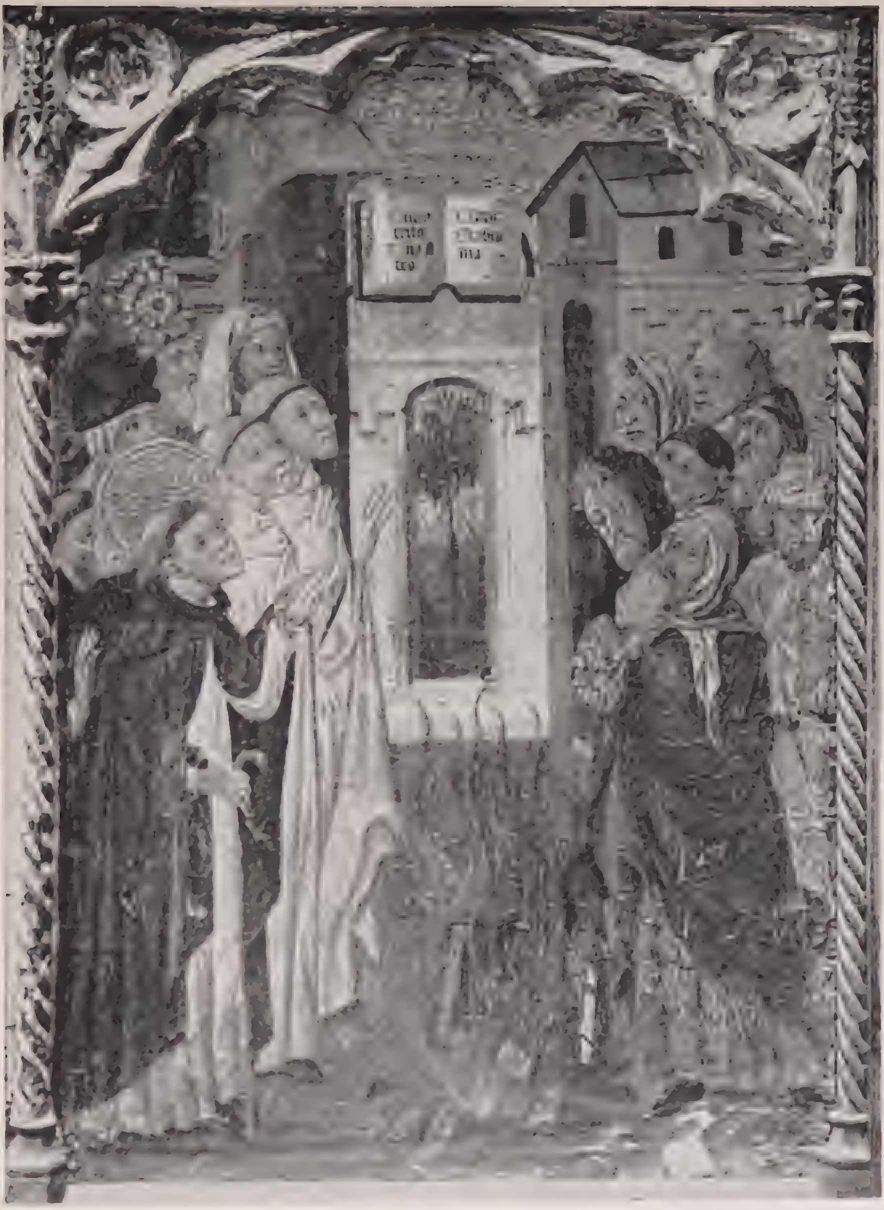

FIG. 291. TRIAL OF ST. DOMINIC'S AND OF THE ALBIGENSIAN BOOKS BY FIRE, FRAGMENT OF RETABLE. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

from the life of St. Dominic, finds its niche at this place in the book because it derives one of its component stylistic features from the aftermath of Marzal de Sas, although it cannot be said that the Germanic qualities are spiritually elevated as in the case of the St. Martin triptych. The three scenes are the mother's dream of a dog with a lighted torch at St. Dominic's birth, Innocent III's vision of the saint sustaining the falling church, and St. Dominic's book issuing unscathed from the trial by fire (Fig. 291). The inheritance from Marzal de Sas remains in some of the facially distorted types among the crowd at the miracle of the book; but it is so altered by general influences of the international style of about 1425 that the picture recalls in turn the Franco-Flemish phases of the style and the Florentine aspects as manipulated, let us say, by some quite secondary imitator of Fra Angelico. The details that witness to some slight knowledge of Franco-Flemish internationalism are the hats worn by two spectators behind the group of friars in the episode of the trial by fire and the whole costume of the female attendant of St. Dominic's mother.

The Diocesan Museum contains two rather superior fragments in the general manner of the majority of the panels that we have been discussing — Nos. 25 and 26, reported to have decorated at one time the castle at Montesa and having belonged originally to another retable of the Holy Cross. In one of them St. Helen is represented as kneeling at the actual Invention, while before her there seems to burst forth the *fumus aromatum miri odoris* mentioned in the *Golden Legend* as a supernatural phenomenon occurring at the discovery of the relic; but the rest of the panel has been cut off. The other fragment depicts the proving of the True Cross by the miracle of resuscitation. The white draperies and the increasing chiaroscuro again recall the related works of the Catalan school. This Valencian group may be augmented, furthermore, by a large panel, No. 21 of the same Museum, interesting iconographically because it preserves, like a section of the Ollería retable, the old Romanesque *motif* of the Saviour seated on the rainbow, here surrounded by the four Evangelists with their symbols. The great red drapery of Christ is already almost Flemish in quality.

A panel of the Trinity in the Museum of Vich (Fig. 292) and

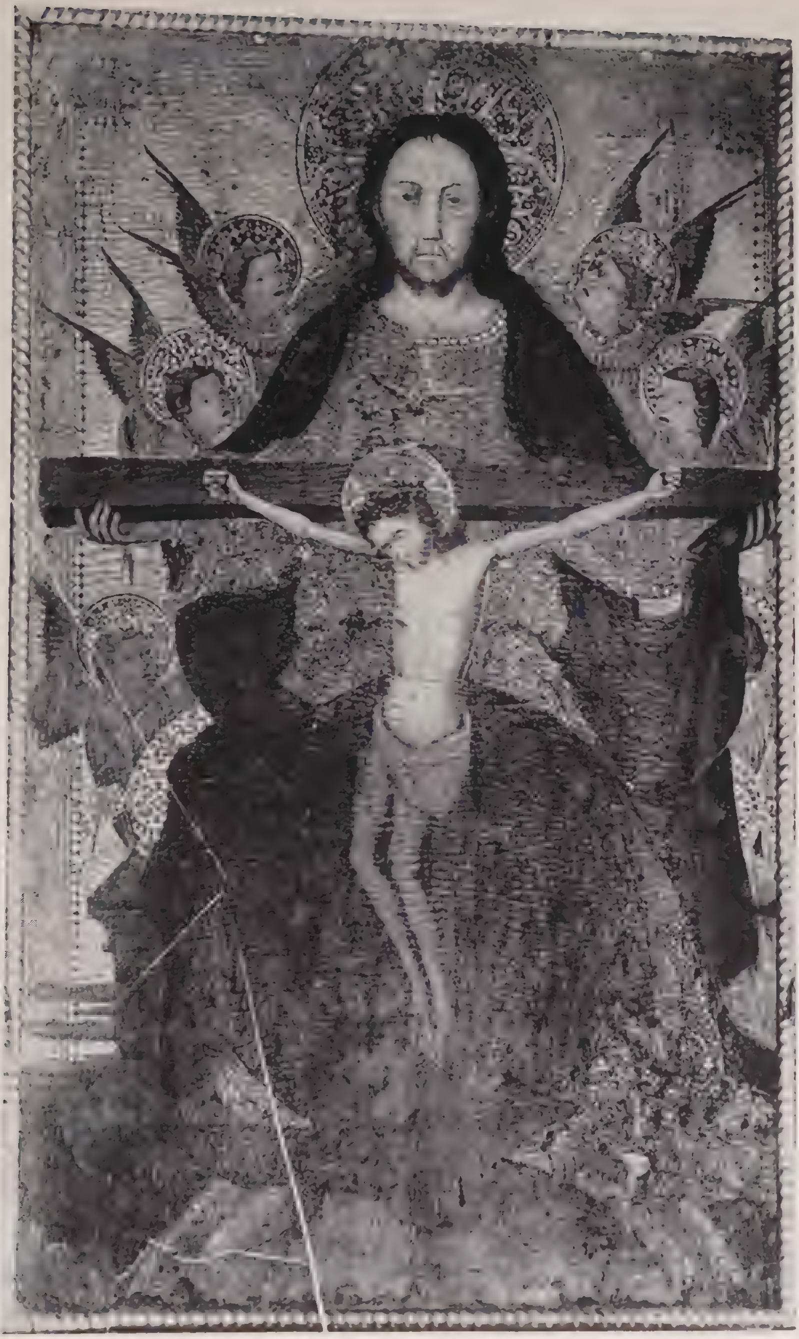

Fig. 292. TRINITY. MUSEUM, VICH

(Photo. Thomas)

the small triptych of the Marriage of St. Catherine in the Román Vicente Collection at Saragossa (Fig. 293) may be considered together because, although they have no other special affiliations with each other, it is conceivable that they both may have been painted by Catalonians rather than Valencians and because they both reveal some resemblances to the Germanizing tendency at Valencia and to the *détente* of this tendency. In the Trinity a Catalan authorship is suggested by the type of God the Father, which might be derived from that which Borrassá uses for Our Lord at Guardiola and Tarrasa, and by the brocade of His cushion which again recalls specimens in Borrassá's productions. But the Valencian ties are more numerous and more tangible. In the first place, the gold is diapered at the sides with two of the long half-crosses that were affected in Valencian backgrounds. The red-winged heads of youthful seraphim that surround the central theme have the charming pertness with which the Valencians often succeeded in endowing them. The Father's countenance is imbued with the dreamy mysticism that is diffused from the faces in the St. Martin triptych, from the St. Bartholomew of Worcester, and from the St. Michael of Edinburgh, although the expression in the Vich panel is not quite identical. Besides this internal evidence, a potent argument for a Valencian authorship is provided by the probable use of the same cartoon in a panel in the Museum at Lille that is clearly a Valencian work of the second half of the fifteenth century. The problems do not end with the case of Valencia versus Catalonia. The visage of the Father may strike some connoisseurs as betraying a familiarity with such types of Jan van Eyck as the various separate, hieratic heads of Christ ascribed to him, and the question thus arises whether the Vich picture should not rather be classified, in an ensuing volume, with the Valencian paintings of the middle and second half of the fifteenth century which, like Jacomart's works, incorporate at least some slight indebtedness to Flanders. But the analogy to Van Eyck's faces is probably fortuitous or occasioned by common derivation from the same mediaeval original, and the cast of features, as we have seen, is merely a modification of a Spanish type utilized also by Borrassá. The character of the angels' heads pretty definitely pulls the panel into the international style, and, even if the author had admired a figure or two by Jan van Eyck and his brother, it has meant no more than an indecisive recollection. We sometimes encounter other instances of a dawning acquaintance with Flemish art in the last phase of Valencian internationalism. Another alternative is that what seems Flemish in the Vich panel may in reality be German, and then its inclusion in the present group would be the more logical. The likelihood is, in any case, that the Trinity is one of the latest pieces which can be aligned with the productions of the first half of the century and that its date is about 1450. It seems a more mature creation even than the St. Martin triptych. Its place on the aesthetic scale is quite as high. The placidity of the Valencian manner is harmoniously fused

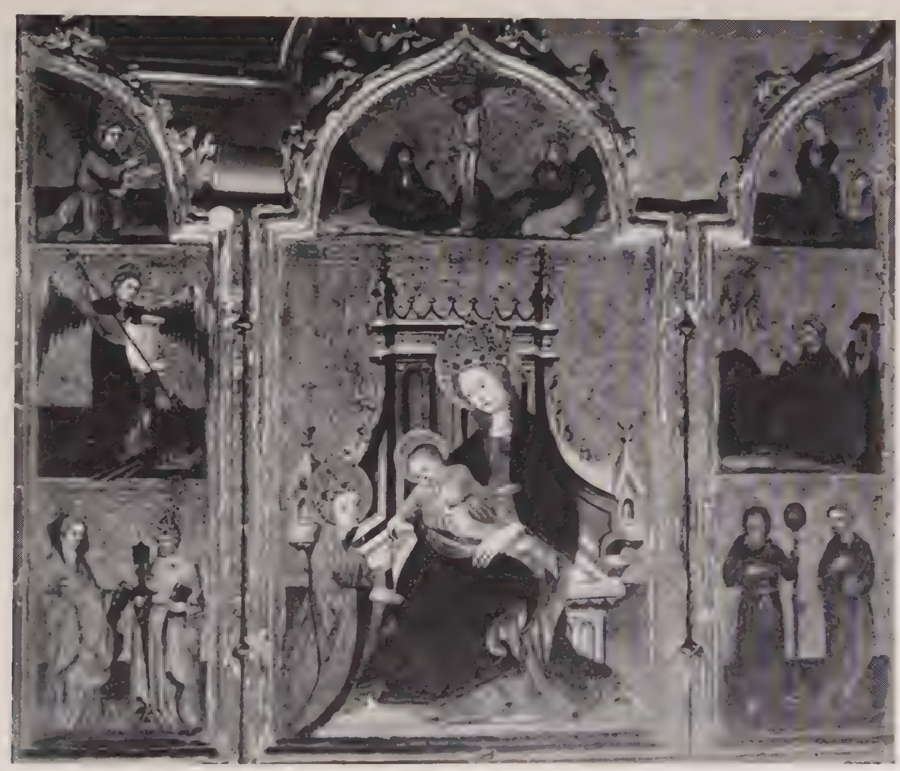

Fig. 293. TRIPTYCH. ROMÁN VICENTE COLLECTION, SARAGOSSA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

with some degree of the majesty that Masaccio has bestowed upon the subject in S. Maria Novella at Florence.

There is also room for doubting whether the Saragossa triptych of St. Catherine be Valencian at all and for ascribing it to the Catalan school. The types and the draperies are very different from those of the fragments of retables in the Provincial and Diocesan Museums of Valencia that have been discussed in the group now under consideration. The sweetly delicate mood and, to a certain extent, the forms seem like a somewhat later expression of Jaime Cabrera's style, and even the Virgin's crown in the central panel bears a resemblance to that worn by Our Lady in Cabrera's painting at Vich. In the London Exhibition of 1920–1921, the triptych was indeed actually ascribed to Nicolás Verdera, under whose name the Vich Madonna used to go. The differences from Cabrera may be due in part to retouching; but after much hesitation, I have swung over to Mayer's opinion that the triptych is Valencian. I find it difficult to place in the Catalan school the small figure of the Magdalene in the left wing of the triptych, whose mantle swells forth over the abdomen in a German way very like that of St. Martha in the panel of the Valencian cathedral perhaps by Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez. The dulcet mysticism is of the Valencian rather than the Catalan sort, and the central panel of the Marriage may be compared, in this respect, with the small picture, in the cathedral of Valencia, of the Madonna under an angel-supported canopy, belonging to the circle of Pedro Nicolau. The Crucifixion, in the central pinnacle, with the Mother and St. John seated on the ground at either side of the cross, is a composition which, though not unparalleled in Catalonia, is more frequent at Valencia; and the Virgin in this scene suggests again an incipient acquaintance with Flemish art. One of the definitive characteristics of the author is a softness of contour unusual at this moment in the evolution of painting. The constitution of the triptych is: in the central panel the Marriage of St. Catherine, who is represented on her knees receiving the ring from the Child in the arms of His enthroned Mother; in the upper compartment of the left wing St. Michael quelling the dragon and in the lower compartment standing effigies of the Magdalene and St. Peter; in the upper compartment of the right wing St. Francis's reception of the stigmata, according to the customary Italian iconography of the episode, and in the lower compartment St. John Evangelist (?) and a holy hermit, who, if the effect be not due to repainting, is endowed with an unwonted expressiveness; in the central pinnacle the Crucifixion and in the lateral pinnacles Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate. The whole gold background is diapered, but a separate border is formed at the top of each compartment. St. Catherine's mantle, the central Virgin's tunic, and the same garment of St. Michael are golden brocades of identical pattern.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE CATALAN INFLUENCE AT VALENCIA

ANOTHER group in Valencian international painting may be formed of the works that surely reveal Catalan influence. The fragments of the early retable of the carpenters dedicated to St. Luke and the two adaptations at Valencia of the Serra cartoon for the Virgen de la Leche have already received attention. Next in the list may be placed the works of a painter who at the end of the fourteenth century crosses an aspect of the Valencian style like that of Marzal de Sas with an affection for the manner of Jaime Serra and whom we shall perhaps find it possible to name. His capital piece is the retable of the two St. Johns[1] in the former parish church of the SS. Juanes, Albocácer (Fig. 294). The effigies of the two saints in the large central panel, capped by the usual Crucifixion, are flanked by three scenes from their respective lives on either side and raised upon a predella consisting of a Pietà and seated saints; small figures of other holy personages embellish the uprights of the frame. The bright Gothic color is well preserved; the gold backgrounds are patterned merely at the borders. The only narrative scene that is not self-explanatory is the representation, at the lower right, of the disciples of St. John Evangelist looking into his empty grave to find nothing there but manna. The kinship with the manner of Marzal de Sas is proclaimed in many ways — notably by the crabbed, sharp-nosed types of the adult male personages and by the often stringy and angular draperies. The seating of the saints on the ground in the predella is also a Valencian habit. But these tendencies coalesce with factors of Catalan derivation.

---

[1] The feminine-looking St. John Evangelist at the right in the central panel has generally been mistaken for the Magdalene, because the figure carries what might be a box of ointment; but the three accompanying lateral compartments with scenes from the life of the Evangelist, the prominence given to St. John in the Crucifixion, and the dedication of the church to the two St. Johns indubitably identify the personage with the beloved disciple. The vessel that he carries is probably his attribute of the poisoned cup; and, as all but a martyr at the Latin gate, he is entitled to the palm which he bears and upon which the Magdalene has no claim.

The types, particularly of the younger men and of the saints on the frame, are often not unlike those of Jaime Serra, even when they are clothed in rather contorted draperies. The artist likes to make his youths, whether clerical or lay, short of stature and delicate of nature, so that they oddly retain the winsomeness of babies, and he is prone to deck them out, as in the first and

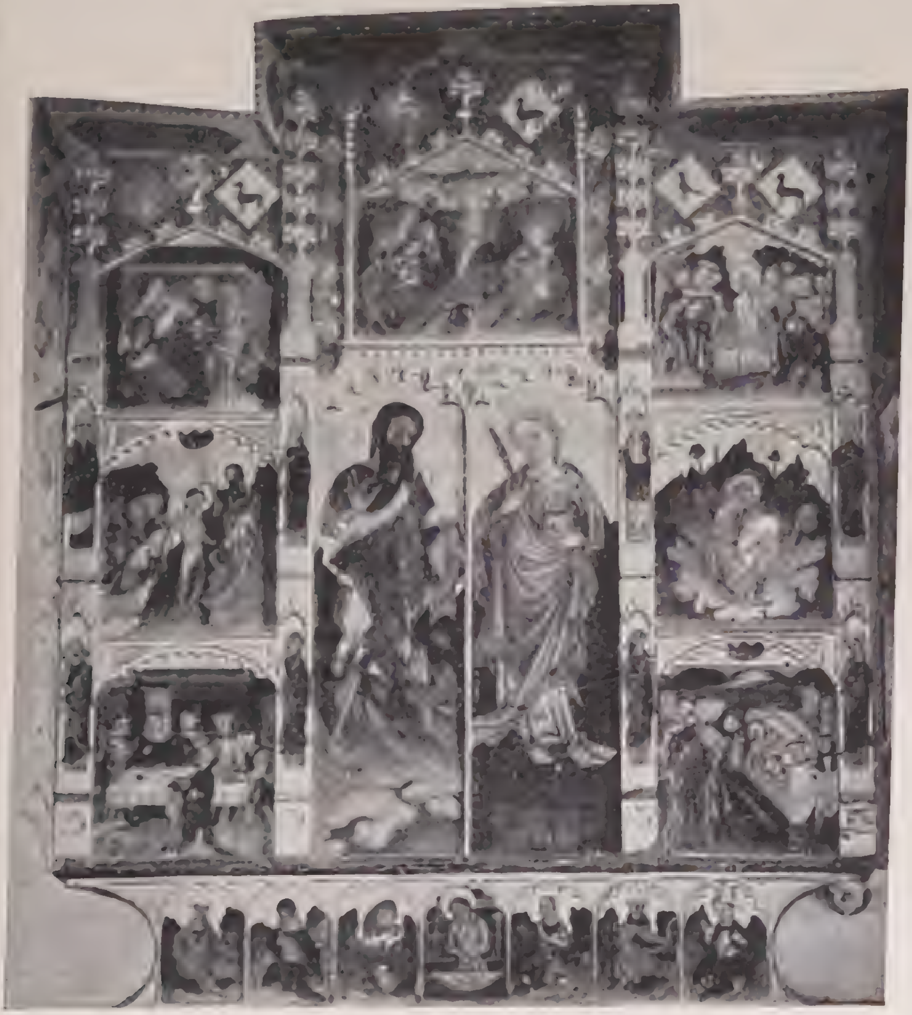

Fig. 294. DOMINGO VALLS (?). RETABLE OF THE TWO ST. JOHNS. CHURCH OF THE SS. JUANES, ALBOCÁCER

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

third scenes from the life of the Evangelist, in dapper contemporary costumes that anticipate the international style. Jaime Serra's modes are suggested also by a certain unsophisticated candidness of spirit that pervades the whole retable and is enshrined in simple compositions. Yet the painter strangely oversteps his time in a much increased, however unintelligent, introduction of shadows, especially in the countenances. The Baptism and the scene of St. John Evangelist's translation reveal at the top of the gold background the little segment of blue that was a familiar convention in the Serra workshop. As in the altarpieces of the Pentecost at San Lorenzo de Morúnys and of St. Anne at Cardona, St. John at Patmos is represented on a sea-bound clump of rocks, the scalloped edges of which are here stylized almost into the appearance of an elaborate flower. The color mimics the bright hues of the miniatures, particularly in the contrast between the mantles and the gayer stuffs that line them. All of which does not mean that the master of Albocácer is the equal either of his Valencian or Catalan contemporaries. A rustic slovenliness or at times a childishness disfigures his craftsmanship, concretely illustrated, for instance, by the careless drawing of the central Baptist's feet.

Now the curious thing is that there is record of a retable done for this very edifice, at that time the parish church, by a painter who lived far enough south in Catalan territory to have absorbed Valencian qualities. This painter is Domingo Valls of Tortosa, active 1366–1398. In a document of January 3, 1373, King Peter IV writes from Barcelona to the authorities of Albocácer telling them that Lorenzo Zaragoza, because he is busily engaged in working for the royal house, cannot, as they desire, betake himself to their city in order to decide the question whether Domingo Valls has used false gold and inferior pigments on a retable that the latter master is executing for the parish church of the town or in order to assist in the completion of the retable; the monarch further requests that they permit Domingo to continue the work and promises that, after it is finished, he will send Lorenzo to pass judgment upon the achievement.[1] Another document of January 30, 1374, incorporates a legal decision in the case, confirming two previous decisions; but what the nature of the decision was has not been stated by those who have seen the paper.[1] The altarpiece of the two St. Johns betrays nothing that is necessarily incompatible with a date so early as 1373. It is true that the activity of Marzal de Sas, upon whom the retable seems to depend, is not recorded until 1394, but almost certainly he had begun to paint long before this date. Inasmuch, however, as the subject of Valls's retable in the parish church at Albocácer is not revealed in the documents, the existing altarpiece cannot be unconditionally attributed to him. Nor is it absolutely certain that he was allowed to complete the work that he had begun. Other mediaeval Spanish pictures, however, have been ascribed to known names on documentary evidence no more substantial, for example the great retable of St. Clara at Vich to Borrassá, although in this instance the evidence can now be supported by stylistic comparisons with other better authenticated works; and we can claim for the attribution of the Albocácer picture to Domingo Valls at least a considerable degree of probability. The technical attainment does not seem quite worthy of a man whom the sovereign twice dubs in the letter of 1373 a painter of the royal household, but it must be remembered that Valls spent most of his life at Tortosa and that the artistic standards of Tortosa could scarcely have been so high as those of the capitals Barcelona and Valencia.

---

[1] Sanpere, *Els trescentistes*, 316 ff.

Two fragments of retables by the master of Albocácer, whether or not he be Valls, are now to be seen in American collections. The first, in the Hispanic Society at New York, is a large piece from the summit of a retable that must have been one of the most spacious and comprehensive of the whole Valencian school. What remains to us consists of six pinnacles with effigies of Prophets, the six sacred scenes immediately beneath them, a few of the smaller saints on the uprights, and the general blue background which was a setting to the pinnacles and narrative panels and which is adorned with a *motif* of balls or circles and at the third and sixth sections also with heraldic escutcheons. The first section displays David in the pinnacle, the Annunciation below, and on the upright a feminine saint;

---

[1] J. Sanchis y Sivera, *Los pintores medievales en Valencia*, *Estudis universitaris catalans*, VII (1913), 71, and J. Gudiol, *Els trescentistes*, 215.

the second, Isaiah, St. Peter's encounter with Christ (holding a globe) after the Resurrection by the Sea of Tiberias, and on the frame St. Peter Martyr; the third, an unidentified personage of the Old Testament, perhaps Hezekiah,[1] the episode of St. Michael directing the construction of the church at Mont St. Michel, and on the frame a feminine saint and St. Bernard; the fourth, Ezekiel, an anomalous scene in which a seated angel (Michael?) points to Our Lord enthroned and adored by other celestial spirits, and on the upright another angelic form; the fifth, Moses, Pentecost composed according to the usual Catalan norm, and on the upright a canonized princess; and the sixth, Daniel, the Crucifixion, and on the frame a canonized Franciscan nun and another feminine saint. If the sections are arranged in the Hispanic Society as in the original retable and if in the original, according to the usual custom, the Crucifixion was at the centre, it may be deduced that there were five other sections on the other side of the Crucifixion, so that, with the greater part of the altarpiece which has been lost beneath the part that is preserved, the whole structure would have been a colossal affair. The gold backgrounds of the panels, as at Albocácer, are ornamented only at the edges. The identity in types and craft with the retable of Albocácer is so self-evident that the attribution to the same hand needs only to be stated and requires no exegesis. As supererogatory proof, however, two or three striking parallelisms in significant detail may be noted — the presence in the Annunciation and Pentecost of the symbolic crescents of blue, the charmingly infantile youths reappearing as the workmen and acolytes in the scene of St. Michael's apparition, the jauntily costumed spectators at the Crucifixion, the chromatic variation between outer fabrics and linings in the garments, and the eccentricity of conceiving Jerusalem in the Crucifixion as if it were a turreted wall enclosing the tragedy.

A single panel of a retable, representing the Entry into Jerusalem and certainly painted by the pleasantly naïve hand of Albocácer (Fig. 295), has curiously found a distant resting place in the Museum of Worcester, Massachusetts, where it seems like a pathetic little child that has lost its home and family and has been adopted into a fond but alien community. The identity of authorship is again so obvious that only a few of the points of contact need to be enumerated. The type of Our Lord and of the prominent Apostle behind the ass is repeated several times on the Albocácer retable in the figures of Christ, the Bap-

---

[1] The first four letters of his name remain as *Isax*, but they cannot be the beginning of the word *Ezekiel*, for he appears in the next section with his name spelt in full as *Isaxiel*. Could the letters stand for the whole word *Isaachr?*

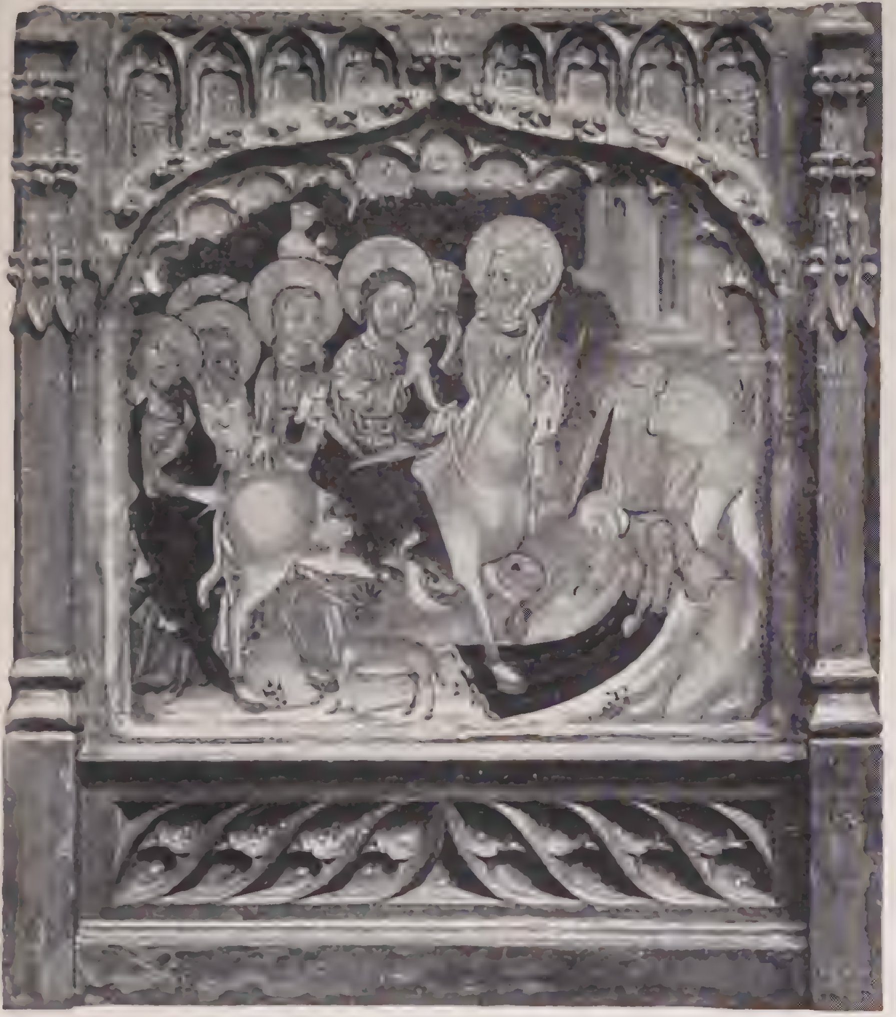

FIG. 295. DOMINGO VALLS (?). ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. MUSEUM, WORCESTER, MASS.

(Courtesy of the Worcester Museum)

tist, and the saints of the frame. The St. John just to the left of the Saviour virtually duplicates the central effigy of the altarpiece. The feet of Christ betray exactly the same puerile draughtsmanship as those of the central Baptist. All the countenances reveal a like untutored interest in the painting of shadows. The angular Gothic drapery of the Apostle behind the ass is drawn out into a long, narrow, hanging fold at the bottom according to a mannerism that is again paralleled in the retable. One will have to go back to Romanesque art to find so absurd a drawing of an animal, from the naturalistic standpoint, as that of the beast upon which the Saviour rides; but it is perhaps a naturalistic tendency of Spain that feels no incongruity in placing in the very middle of the panel the "colt, the foal of an ass" suckling beneath its mother.

It was another and later painter who fused a more unmistakable and pronounced aspect of the Valencian style of Marzal de Sas with Catalan elements in a retable in the Museo Diocesano, Tarragona, which, coming from Guardia dels Prats near Montblanch, having perhaps once graced the monastery of Santas Creus, actually hails from Catalan territory. The degree of artistic sophistication is that of about 1425. There remain: six large panels of the Annunciation, Epiphany (Fig. 296), Ascension, Pentecost, Death and Coronation of the Virgin; the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, sitting on the ground and communing with their signs, which are thus realistically rationalized from mere symbols into actual personages; and a predella that incorporates the idea of Pedro Serra's All Saints retables, consisting of four sections with categories of the worthies of the Old Testament, of the hallowed deacons, of the canonized members of the religious orders, and of the Apostles. The affiliation with the manner of Marzal de Sas is so close in many respects that the altarpiece ought perhaps to have been discussed rather among the productions of his circle. His grimly caricatured types often scowl or leer forth at the spectator, particularly several of the Apostles in the panel of the Dormition. The patriarch to the right of Moses in the group from the Old Testament in the predella looks as if he had stepped out of the London altar of St. George. The hair of several of the figures, for instance of St. Luke, is combed back in that great,

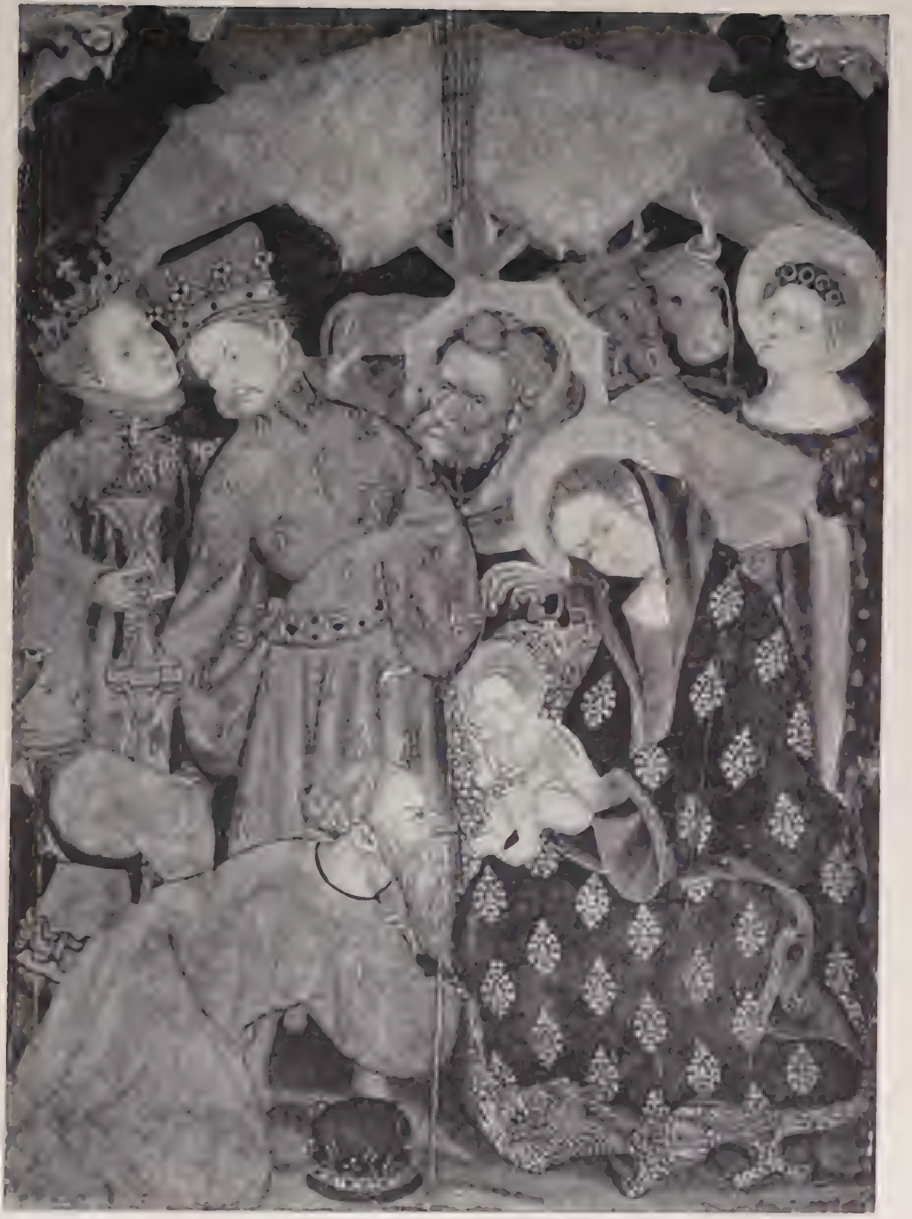

Fig. 296. ADORATION OF THE MAGI, SECTION OF RETABLE. DIOCESAN MUSEUM, TARRAGONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

smooth roll, with the separate locks carefully delineated, which is characteristic of the heads painted by Marzal de Sas. The draperies, especially in the Death of the Virgin, resemble those of St. Thomas in the panel of his Incredulity by Marzal in their exaggerated copiousness and in the sharper angles that they form as compared to the folds of Borrassá; and, as again in the picture of the Incredulity, the figures crowd the space so that there is little room for setting. On the other hand, in addition to the provenience of the retable and the subjects of the predella, further Catalan traits make it difficult to decide whether the indifferently gifted author was a Catalonian who had sojourned in Valencia or a Valencian who for the nonce accommodated himself to the traditions of the region in which he was working. If, as Don Alejandro Soler y March has told me that he supposes, there existed at Tarragona a local school divided in its artistic allegiance between Barcelona and Valencia, one of its members might easily have produced the Santas Creus retable. The compositions for the narrative sections are directly based upon those of the Serras. Some of the types have the same ultimate origin, but forms like the Evangelist St. Matthew and like the Santiago of the group of Apostles in the predella are distinctly affected also by the further development imposed upon the models of the Serras by Borrassá.

There is one small detail that might seem to possess some slight weight in turning the balance in favor of considering the author a Valencian, and that is the facial and stylistic similarity of the first standing Magus in the Epiphany to the James I (Fig. 297) in the series of panels of four heads of Aragonese sovereigns which are said to have come from the Ayuntamiento of Valencia and are now in the Museo Provincial, Barcelona, and which were certainly painted in the first half of the fifteenth century. That this Magus is meant to embody the semblance of some king of Aragon, there can be no doubt, for his costume is embroidered with the royal A of Aragon, which appears also on the backgrounds of the heads in the Provincial Museum, Barcelona, and the heraldic escutcheon of Aragon, in lozenge shape, decorates the frame of the altarpiece. If the head in question in the series at Barcelona is rightly identified as a posthumous portrait of James I (1213–1276), then the figure in the Santas Creus altarpiece may indeed be a resuscitation of his memory. If the same artist did the heads once in the Ayuntamiento of Valencia and the Santas Creus altar, the fact that the heads are even more Valencian in character than the altar would argue for the Valencian nationality of their author. If the artist of Santas Creus is not identical with the master of the Ayuntamiento but simply copied a head executed by him, it is more likely that the author of the retable should have belonged to the Valencian than to the Catalan school in order to have shown an interest in paintings in the building that was the very heart of Valencia, the town-hall. If the master of the Ayuntamiento copied from the artist of Santas Creus, he would naturally have drawn upon one of his own school rather than upon a Catalan rival. But all such argumentation relies too much upon flimsy

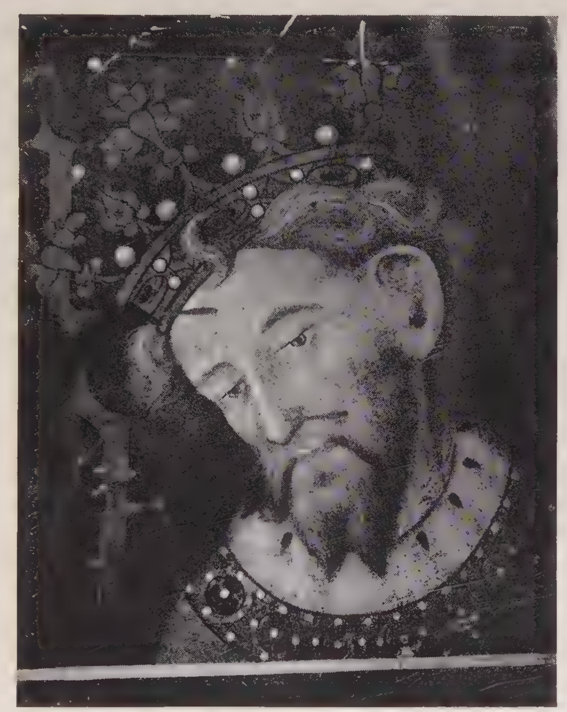

Fig. 297. PORTRAIT OF JAMES I OF ARAGON.
PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

probabilities, and furthermore involves too many "ifs." It is incredible that the master of the Ayuntamiento, when doing a series of royal portraits, should have turned for the prototype of one of them to an altarpiece of not very high quality in Catalonia. If the heads of the Barcelona Museum are, as they seem, later in style than the Santas Creus altar, it is impossible that they should have been the source of inspiration for the creator of the retable. There is also the alternative of a single authorship for the two commissions, a theory that would involve the admission that the heads were late works of the master who did the retable earlier in his career. Although so eminent a connoisseur as Tormo [1] has asserted the unity of authorship, I cannot quite bring myself to believe it. The facial resemblance and the similar tilt of the head are deceptive, for they may be occasioned by the fact that two different artists were working from some celebrated older portrait of the monarch. I should be willing to admit that the series of royal heads emanated from the same aspect of the Valencian school that was responsible for the retable, though from a more mature and more proficient phase of this coterie; but underneath the superficial similarity of the features I see at Tarragona a different and above all a simpler hand. The other three heads purport to represent Alfonso III (1285–1291), Peter IV (1336–1387), and the sovereign who must still have been some score of years distant from his death when this effigy was executed, Alfonso V (1416–1458). Despite their darkened condition, it takes no great acumen to discern that they are expressions of Valencian Gothicism and internationalism at a later stage of perhaps the fourth decade of the fifteenth century. Among many other factors the Gothic undulations of the flowing, curling locks prove that we have not yet emerged from the art of the first half of the Quattrocento.

The retable of Sts. Eulalia and Clara (Fig. 298) in a chapel on the cloister of the cathedral of Segorbe, executed at the very end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, is stylistically further removed than the Albocácer and Santas Creus pictures from the essentially Valencian manner of the period and reveals a more tangible influence of the Catalan workshop of the Serra brothers. The very ordinance of the retable is more Catalan than Valencian. As frequently in the output of the Serras, the large central panel is occupied by two monumental effigies of saints, surmounted by the Crucifixion. At the left are three scenes from the martyrdom of St. Eulalia, the last following closely the legend in representing her soul issuing from her body in the form of a dove. At the right are depicted St. Clara's reception into the Franciscan Rule, her repulsion of the Saracens by the power of the Host, and her death. The predella contains a Pietà flanked by eight standing figures of saints. Another Catalan element is the diapering of the whole expanse of the gold backgrounds with a delicate, incised *motif*. In the central panel the wreath of St. Eulalia and the crown of St. Clara are embossed. The retable often reiter-

---

[1] *El nuevo Museo Diocesano de Tarragona, Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XXIV (1916), 319–320.

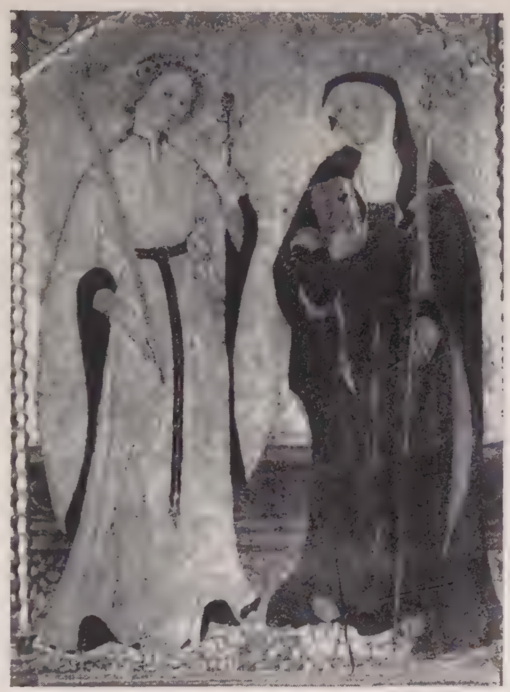

FIG. 298. STS. EULALIA AND CLARA, CENTRE OF RETABLE. CATHEDRAL, SEGORBE

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

ates Jaime Serra's affection for fabrics of light colors accented with a pattern of gold. The central Eulalia, for instance, wears such a garment, and St. Clara's death-bed is thus draped. The episodes of St. Clara's reception into the Order and of her death are permeated with the ineffably gentle spirit that the Serras apply to sacred narrative. The mood and style, in general, are perhaps closer to Jaime than to Pedro. The possibility of execution by a Catalan hand is not to be excluded, and yet there is an overtone, hard to define, that seems to emanate rather from the more ethereal music of Valencia, music lighter even than that of Jaime Serra. The author was probably a Valencian pupil of the Serras. The types are not quite those of either of the two Catalan brothers; the architectural settings in the narrative scenes are more extensive, more elaborate, and even crowded; and the Crucifixion cannot be paralleled, in all its details, in the art of the more northerly province.

A reflection of the style diffused by the Serra brothers may be seen in three retables among those preserved in the Ermita de S. Bartolomé near Villahermosa,[1] west of Castellón de la Plana. The retables in question, all evidently produced by a single workshop,[2] are dedicated to the Virgin, to Sts. Stephen and Lawrence, and to the Blessed Sacrament (Fig. 299). The central panel of the first of these retables, like the two examples at Valencia, is actually based very closely upon the cartoon used for the Palau Madonna of Humility and for the several repetitions of the theme by the Serra brothers and their followers, the only innovation being the introduction of a seated, diminutive St. Joseph at the lower right so as to expand the subject into a Holy Family. The brocade of Our Lady's mantle displays the old Serra *motif* of eagles. When there is an opportunity for comparison, the other compositions are seen to be imitations of or developments from those employed by the Serras, for instance the Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost of the altar of St. Mary and the Crucifixions at the tops of the other two retables. The changes are often in the direction of crowding and of elaboration of setting. The stoning of St. Stephen bears a resemblance to the rendering of the martyrdom in the altarpiece of Gualter. The types are elongated and attenuated kin of the personages created by the Serras, with occasionally a cast of countenance, as especially in the musical angels who surround the Madonna of Humility, that would more properly give them the name of Aragonese cousins. Such an impress would be natural in the district in which the pictures are found, between Valencia and Aragon, and the head of the workshop, an artist of moderate gifts, may well have been a local painter who had seen and admired the productions of the Serra atelier in Catalonia. That a relationship to the types of this

---

[1] Since I have never been able to reach Villahermosa, in this instance my statements are conditioned by knowledge gleaned only from photographs.

[2] In his notes to the articles of Emiliano Benages upon the altarpieces of the Villahermosa Ermita in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* (see the Bibliography), the editor of this periodical, Ricardo Carreras, apparently credits the retables of the two deacons and of the Blessed Sacrament to one workshop and that of the Virgin to another; but the internal evidence plainly demonstrates all three to have emanated from the same source. Carreras, moreover, impossibly places the two former retables in the second half of the fifteenth century. Both he and Benages believe that the retable of the Virgin is a conglomeration of panels from two or more altarpieces, although the two critics do not agree in their groupings of the panels. Benages connects with the panel of the Virgin of the Milk the Epiphany, Purification, Dormition, and Pentecost; the Nativity of Christ, the Resurrection, and the Ascension he considers fragments of another retable; and to still a third he assigns the expulsion of Adam and Eve. Carreras dissociates only the Nativity, Resurrection, and expulsion from Paradise, but he goes further than Benages by ascribing them to a painter different from the author of the nursing Madonna. He conjecturally attributes to the same hypothetical altarpiece with these three panels three other fragments in the sacristy of the Ermita, which I do not know even in photograph, representing the Pietà, the Last Judgment, and the entry of the blessed into Paradise, and he guesses that all may have been parts of a retable of the Trecento, dedicated to the Precious Body, that is said to have once existed in the parish church of Villahermosa and to have been transferred to the Ermita. Benages refuses to accept a relationship of the panels in the sacristy with any of the parts of the altarpiece of the Virgin. Although the structure has been broken into pieces and

---

the sections that are left have been jumbled together, I myself can see no reason for supposing that the present parts of the altarpiece did not all belong to the original retable. The style is identical. The Gothic figuration of the frames is the same, and the tops of the frames of the Nativity, Ascension, and Resurrection look as if these pieces had constituted the pinnacles. The scenes would then have read in proper order at the left the Nativity, Epiphany, and Purification and at the right the Resurrection, the Dormition, and Pentecost, except that the last two would have been interchanged in the reconstruction. The Ascension would have stood as a central theme above the central Madonna. As a still higher and smaller central pinnacle would have been used the expulsion from Paradise, for it must be remembered that episodes from Genesis intrude among the scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin in Pedro Serra's Manresa altarpiece. The Valencian school was particularly addicted to such higher central pinnacles. Although the narrative scenes are not in every case identical with those customarily comprised under the title, the Seven Joys of the Virgin, yet they are subjects that were commonly represented in altarpieces as events in her life as well as in that of Christ; and she is introduced, according to the norm of the Serra iconography, as a spectator in the Resurrection. Finally, it is legitimate to wonder whether the extant retable of the Eucharist may not be the same as the altarpiece of the Precious Body.

atelier is not a figment of the writer's imagination, is demonstrated in particular by the smaller effigies of saints and Prophets on the frames. Was the author perchance Pedro Serra's friend, Guillermo Ferrer,[1] who is recorded to have painted in this region? The iconography calls for comment only in the case of the retable of the Blessed Sacrament. The central panel contains a formally designed and rigidly symmetrical Last Supper, in which Judas, isolated at the front of the table, is depicted in a posture of unaccustomed agitation. The three upper sections are occupied by the Annunciation, Crucifixion, and Nativity; but the four lower lateral compartments are more immediately connected with the theme of the Eucharist in that they represent, like the Vallbona de las Monjas frontals and the predella of the Sijena altar, Jewish profanations of the Host, acts of reparation, and miracles of the Sacrament.[2] The three half-lengths of saints at the right of the predella in the retable of the Sacrament look more modern or at least repainted.

Contact with a later moment in Catalan painting, with the period of Borrassá but in that period with the art rather of Cabrera than of Borrassá himself, is embodied in the earlier sections of the high altar of S. Pedro at Játiva. These earlier sections include the central panel of the large standing effigies of Sts. Peter and Paul, three compartments from the life of each on either side, and the central pinnacle of the Crucifixion. The tonality has Borrassá's preponderance of red. The later additions, of the middle of the sixteenth century, comprise a panel of the Coronation inserted between the effigies of the two saints and the Crucifixion, a predella of the Passion, and the *guardapolvos* decorated with the life of Christ and figures of the Prophets. A comparison of St. Peter upon the cross with the corresponding figure by Borrassá at Tarrasa illustrates the Catalan quality of the iconography. The types, draperies, and architectural backgrounds in the narrative panels resemble those of Cabrera to such an extent as to prove the author to have been a Catalan or Valencian pupil. No large central panel of a retable by Cabrera exists with which to compare the analogous

---

[1] See above, p. 4.

[2] For an analysis of the themes, see E. Benages in *Boletîn de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, IX (1928), 83–84.

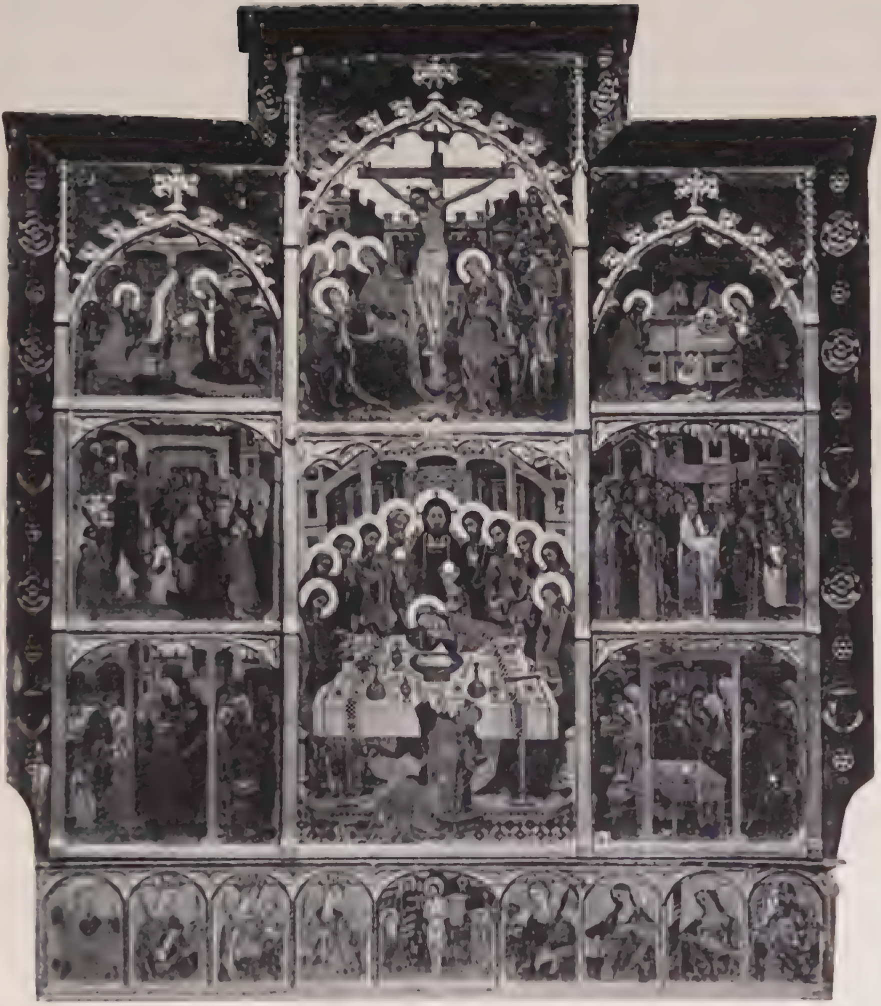

FIG. 299. RETABLE OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.
ERMITA DE S. BARTOLOMÉ, VILLAHERMOSA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

part of the Játiva altarpiece; but, if we remember the practice of other painters, there is no reason to believe that he would not have been as broad and grand as this in the monumental effigies of saints, although in lateral compartments his touch is light and anecdotal. The craftsmanship is only of average quality or less, surely not worthy of so distinguished a personage as Antonio Guerau,[1] a name that is Tormo's mere guess for an attribution.

---

[1] See above, p. 94.

CHAPTER XXXVI

OTHER VALENCIAN PAINTINGS IN THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE

In Valencian international painting we may construct a last and not very uniform category out of those monuments, belonging to *c.* 1420–*c.* 1450, for which we have been able to find no exact affiliations. In the case of a retable of the Virgin, dating from about 1430, which has recently entered the Provincial Museum of Valencia on loan and was once at Puebla Larga (between Alcira and Játiva),[1] foreign relationships, as far as any are discernible, would seem to point in the direction of Burgundian art and thus to create a dim and partial resemblance to the style of the Catalan Master of St. George. The central panel is occupied by the Madonna and Child enthroned among musical angels and is, as usual, capped by the Crucifixion. The six large lateral compartments contain the Nativity of Christ, the Epiphany, the Presentation, the Resurrection (Fig. 300), the Ascension, and Pentecost. The old Valencian practice is followed in decorating the three pinnacles with a blessing Christ and with Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation. The predella is dedicated to the Passion, and, again in the Valencian fashion, this section of the retable is elaborated by an undermolding adorned with twelve heads of Prophets. Many small effigies of holy personages bedeck the frame. For the Presentation of Christ in the Temple the iconography is new, with the Virgin kneeling instead of standing, a composition similar to that employed by Alonso Cano in the seventeenth century in his series of paintings of the Seven Joys of the Virgin above the arches of the Capilla Mayor in the cathedral of Granada. The outstanding anomaly of the altarpiece is that gold backgrounds are allowed only behind the central Madonna and behind the enthroned Christ of the central pinnacle and that in all the narrative compartments the customary gilded skies are lacking in the landscapes, which look like inferior and piecemeal analogues of those of Sassetta. The whole retable, indeed, is distinguished by a certain chastity in this matter of splendor. Although the garments are often edged with gold, brilliant brocades and especially brocades into which gold is woven are comparatively few; the gold examples occur particularly in the predella. Some vague acquaintance with Burgundian or Flemish forms, perhaps through the medium of sculptural imitations in Spain, seems to be incorporated in a few of the saints on the frame. What impression there is of a resemblance to the Franco-Flemish aspect of the international school and therefore to the Master of St. George is imparted by the many Burgundian costumes, especially in the predella, by the Burgundian hats worn by certain of the Prophets, and by the warm, reddish tonality. The Crucifixion is like the compositions employed by Jacomart for the subject, and in the background of the Epiphany is set one of the towns that are so frequent an element in his landscapes. A peculiarity of the author is found in his curiously elongated angels, as in the Nativity and Resurrection. These angels, as in a few other Spanish international paintings, are of diminutive size, prophesying one of the trade-marks of the Flemish and hence of the Hispano-Flemish school. The artist's attainments are only those of a good, honest mediaeval craftsman; but in the central panel he has managed to create a pretty, dark-haired type of Madonna, whose charm is brought into relief by contrast with the Virgins in the exactly similar Aragonese compositions for the theme. The fluffy-haired angels in this panel are likewise different from their Aragonese analogues.

---

[1] Sr. Tormo kindly informs me that this is the retable which in his *Levante* of the year 1923 (p. 203) he catalogued as then at Puebla Larga. He dates it in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

St. Catherine appears in combination with St. Francis in an isolated panel of this Museum (Fig. 301), a small fragment belonging perhaps to a slightly earlier moment and not extensive enough to reveal distinctive qualities by which it can be related to any of the phases of Valencian painting that we have examined.

The Collection of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan at Madrid contains a large and badly injured panel of St. Elizabeth of Hungary worshipped by a kneeling Franciscan abbess of royal lineage (Fig. 302), which all stylistic considerations would place in the Valencian school of about 1425. Sánchez Cantón,

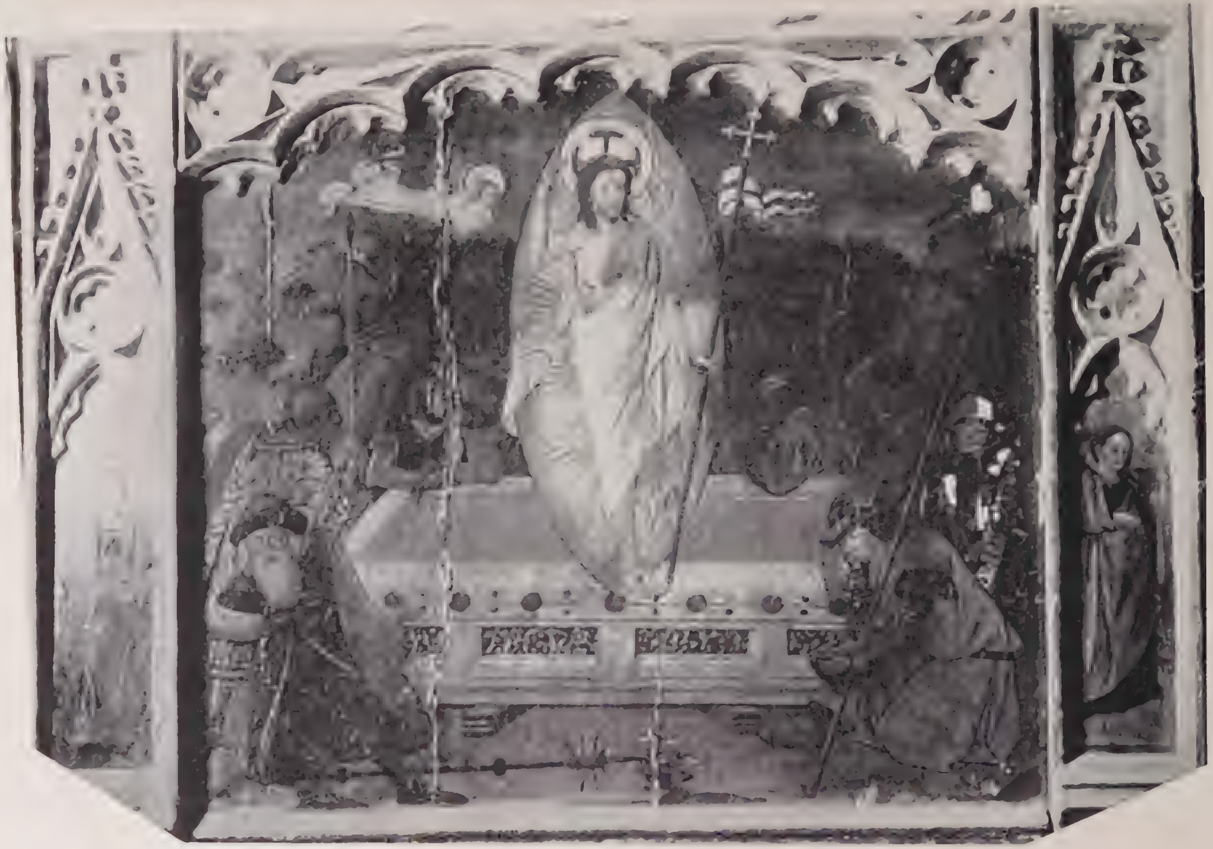

FIG. 300. RESURRECTION, SECTION OF RETABLE FROM PUEBLA LARGA. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA

(Photo. Cardona)

in his Catalogue of the Collection, accepts the theory of a Valencian origin, but he strangely assigns the piece to so late a date as the beginning of the sixteenth century, although he acknowledges that the style is very retrogressive for the period. Doubtless he is unwittingly influenced in his opinion by his desire to identify the donor with Isabel Borgia who, the granddaughter of Pope Alexander VI, was abbess of the Franciscan nuns or Poor Clares at Gandía in Valencian territory and lived from 1498 to 1557. The only other Franciscan abbess of royal connections that he can find in Spanish history is Leonor Manuel de Villena, whose dates are 1430 to 1490 and who was the natural daughter of the celebrated man of letters, Enrique de Villena, and the head of the convent of the Trinity at Valencia;[1] but he

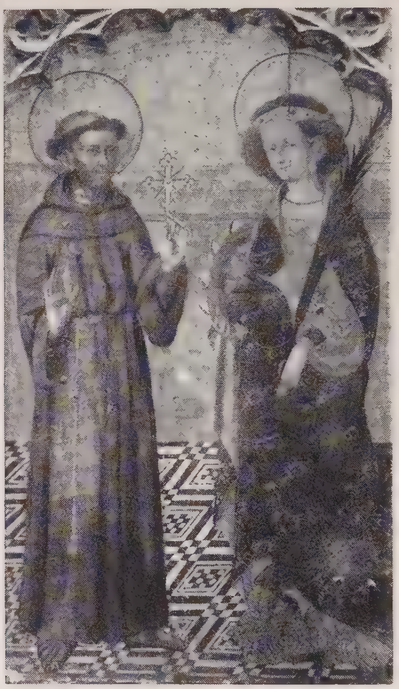

Fig. 301. STS. FRANCIS AND CATHERINE.
PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VALENCIA
(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

---

[1] M. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas*, II (Madrid, 1905), pp. 575–576.

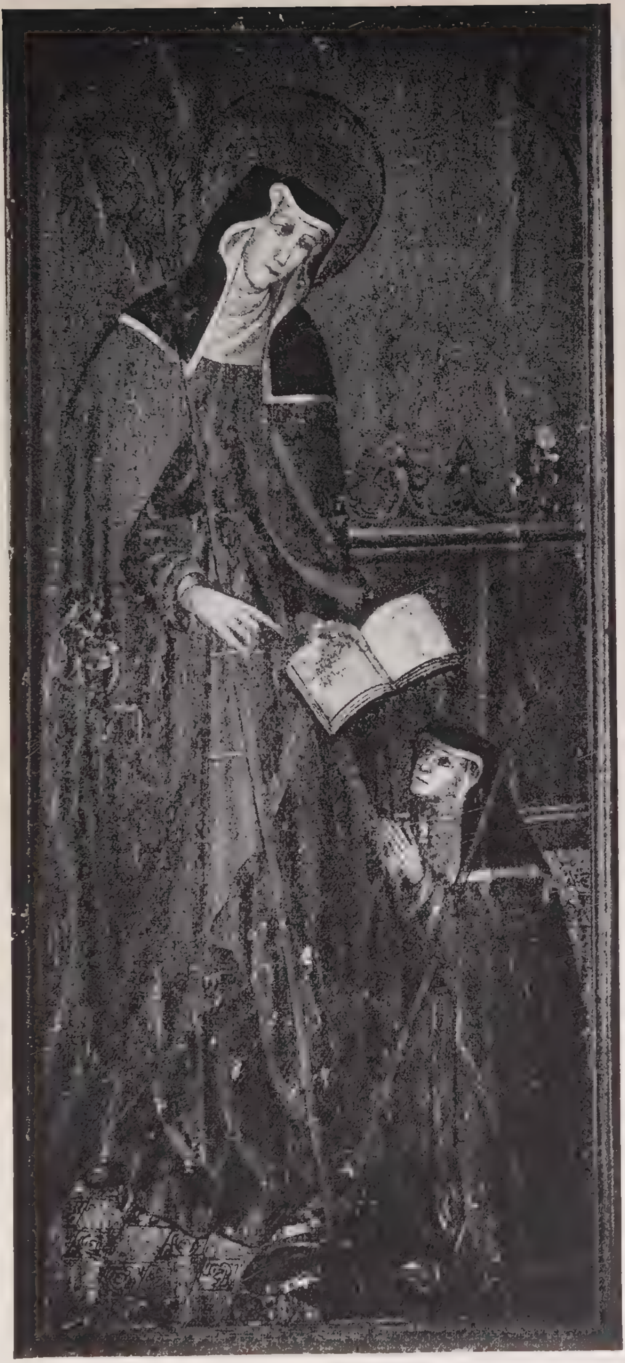

FIG. 302. ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY AND DONOR.
INSTITUTO DE VALENCIA DE DON JUAN, MADRID

(From Sánchez Cantón's Catalogue of the Collection)

dismisses her as a possibility because her relation to reigning houses was too remote to have permitted her representation with a crown. In regard to the question of name, Leonor de Villena would suit perfectly, for, since her title in religion was Isabel, she could have, for patron saint, Elizabeth (in Spanish, Isabel) of Hungary quite as justly as Isabel Borgia, whose title as a nun was Francisca de Jesús. As a matter of fact, the painting seems to be too early to allow an identification even with Leonor de Villena, who did not attain the dignity of abbess until 1463; and it will probably be necessary to unearth in the archives some other claimant for the honor of being represented in this by no means unworthy picture. The tiling of the pavement is perhaps not enough to prove the panel of Valencian origin, but the types and elongated canon of the figures, as well as their draperies, would also indicate this school. Sánchez Cantón is, to say the least, right in looking upon the style as retrogressive for the sixteenth century. In the opinion of the present writer so tardy a date is actually impossible. It is inconceivable that anyone who painted so well should have maintained or resuscitated an archaic manner after 1500. The forms and draperies are still thoroughly Gothic in the international way, with no evidence of the Flemish interpretations of Gothicism that mark the second half of the fifteenth century and were combined in the first years of the sixteenth century with intimations of the Renaissance. If one doesn't fancy the surmise of *c.* 1425, it is plausible to choose an earlier rather than a later year, for there is much here that is still very primitive, for instance the drawing of the hands, and much that still suggests the Sienese Trecento and even such a work as Andrea Vanni's fresco of St. Catherine and a kneeling devotee in S. Domenico, Siena. Since, nevertheless, in the middle of the fifteenth century Jacomart is sometimes curiously old-fashioned in his large effigies of saints, and since his donors, as in the Borgia altarpiece at Játiva, still resemble the diminutive portraits of the international style, the possibility is not absolutely to be excluded that the panel was painted in the decade from 1460 to 1470, and in that case, as far as the date goes, the personage might be Leonor de Villena; but all signs of likelihood and credibility point rather to the first half of the fifteenth century.

A rather nondescript form of internationalism manipulated by a capable master is incorporated in the retable of St. Michael in the Ermita de S. Miguel about six kilometres from Villafranca del Cid (northwest of Castellón de la Plana), the most distinctive quality of which is its beautiful preservation. Tormo gives as its date 1428.[1] The central piece of St. Michael and the dragon is surmounted by the theme that is so frequent in Valencian art even in subordinate panels, the Madonna seated between angels, here two in number, stretching behind her a red and gold fabric. In the three compartments at the left are the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Epiphany; in those at the right, the celestial battle of St. Michael and his angels against the devils, St. Michael at the gate of heaven as conductor of souls, and the scene of the angelic rescue of the woman and her nursing child from the treacherous flow of the tide at Mont St. Michel in France.[2] The subjects treated in the predella are again those customary for this spot at Valencia, the dead Christ at the centre, the mourning Virgin and St. John in the adjacent compartments, and in the other sections saints seated upon the ground. Almost all the products of the international movement, from whatever region of Europe they come, retain at least some slight traces of the Burgundian or Franco-Flemish origin of the style: that the retable of Villafranca does not constitute an absolute exception is revealed by the hat of St. Joseph in the Nativity and the costumes of the spectators in the Mont St. Michel episode. The master caters to his own and his compatriots' taste by making the gold stand forth from many a brocade but especially from the great mass of the central St. Michael's armor.

Another wonderfully preserved work, the retable of St. John Baptist in the parish church of Ródenas, northwest of Teruel, is a fitting conclusion to the discussion of the Valencian international style. The first reason is that, executed about 1450, it is contemporary with Jacomart's production, though not yet exhibiting the general dependence upon him that marks Valencian painting in the second half of the fifteenth century but constituting one of the last expressions of the older international manner before it had been modified by Jacomart. The second reason is that it reveals the Valencian style to have now penetrated beyond Teruel into the very heart of Aragon. The third reason is that, one of the most masterful achievements of the whole early Valencian school, it gives to the present chapter a climactic form. Since its author is as yet anonymous, it is not out of the question that here at Ródenas, so far from the confines of Valencia, he should have been an Aragonese; but, if such was his nationality, he was so completely pro-Valencian in his artistic sentiments that the picture may be accredited to the Valencian account. The central effigy of the saint, clad in a skilfully drawn piece of blue, brocaded Gothic drapery, is surrounded by four compartments depicting his preaching, his baptism of Christ, the feast of Herod, and the decollation. The Crucifixion has its habitual situation above the central panel, and the predella displays the Pietà and busts of saints. The gold backgrounds are patterned only at the borders, but gold is profusely admitted in the many charming contemporary costumes of international fashion. The record of the Italian loan to which the Valencian Gothic school owed its start in life has not yet been quite erased. In the pretty landscapes, the rocks, covered with lovely shrubs and dotted with flowers, are still Sienese in formation. Upon the head of the central St. John and of his figure in the compartment of the preaching, the hair is stylized into curls like those upon which Simone Martini was wont to exercise his skill in linear design. The international delight in the *genre* of every-day life, which is so much less common in Valencia than in Catalonia, puts in its appearance in the scene of the decapitation, where two men lift the grating for the body of St. John to protrude. A gauge of the way in which the master is able to transcend the limits of the international movement, ordinarily so deficient or so little interested in profundity of feeling, is incorporated in the solemnly beautiful Virgin of Sorrows in the Crucifixion.

---

[1] *Levante*, 37.

[2] Jaime Huguet in the second half of the century introduces this scene into the retable of the Revendedores and uses a virtually identical composition.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES IN MAJORCA

The short bloom of painting on the island of Majorca is what would perhaps be expected of an art the pictured personages of which seem often too frail and ethereal for this world. The only period during which the local school has any universal interest is circumscribed within the fourteenth and first quarter of the fifteenth century. There is indeed almost nothing that can with surety be ascribed to the first quarter of the fifteenth rather than to the fourteenth century, and very little that belongs to a date in the first half of the fifteenth century after 1420. In the second half of the Quattrocento only a few isolated pictures were executed in the island, provincial imitations of the styles of Barcelona or Valencia. Apart from its modest claims to a wan but none the less real beauty, Majorcan painting has an archaeological importance as exhibiting in a more undiluted form the Sienese influence that was a fundamental constituent in the Gothic schools of the mainland and as thus helping the critic not to fail to recognize this influence even when on the mainland it is disguised by indigenous qualities. It was, geographically speaking, natural that the Sienese strain should retain more of its own native character as it touched the intervening island than when farther along on its journey it reached the Iberian peninsula. Modifying indigenous traits are, therefore, less in evidence in this insular production than in Spain itself. So far as any distinctive notes are perceptible, they are more dulcet and fragilely delicate tones than are sounded in Valencia and Catalonia. Spanish craftsmen of the Middle Ages everywhere excelled in the diapering of gold, but the elfin exquisiteness attained by the Majorcans in this phase of their art may be an expression of their delicate aesthetic attitude. The books usually have it that the Majorcan school was an offshoot of the Catalan. Occasionally the critic is right in observing some dim interest in the creations of the Serras or, in one or two instances, even of Borrassá; but the masters of Palma, for the most part, tranquilly pursued their gentle paths, slightly or not at all affected by the achievements of their greater rivals at Barcelona. In the middle and second half of the fifteenth century, what little painting was done on the island certainly owed more to Valencia than to Barcelona, and some internal evidence exists to show that they had begun to turn their attention thither even in the earlier epoch. In any case, the influences from the mainland, whether Catalan or Valencian, are negligible in comparison to the closer artistic affiliations with Italy.

Two examples of such Majorcan affiliations with the art of Siena before the rise of Simone Martini have already fallen within our cognizance,[1] indicating that, despite a few sporadic instances of premature Italian influence on the mainland, the islanders were more sensitive to Italianism and had also firmly implanted the foreign seed at a prior date. A third example may be added at this point because it already presents decided Gothic elements, although these elements have not yet assumed the characteristic Sienese form of the Trecento and are still merged with old Byzantine traits — the retable of St. Bernard, No. 1 in the Museo Arqueológico Diocesano (Museo Luliano) at Palma (Fig. 303). The panel has the composition of an antependium, but its larger size implies that it was rather an altarpiece. Coming from the oratory of the Templars, it displays in the central compartment the standing effigy of St. Bernard, who had been so fervent a supporter of these Knights and had perhaps drafted their rule, and in the four lateral compartments as many scenes from his life. A repainting has utterly obscured the original background and so far vitiated the color in general that no judgment upon this phase of the master's craft is any longer possible. The four scenes represented are: the vision of the Virgin, who bestows upon St. Bernard her milk; St. Bernard writing(?) in the wilds amidst trees, plants, and diminutive animals (if the plants and animals do not belong to the repainting) according to the sentence of the *Golden Legend*, "Quidquid in scripturis didicerat, maxime in silvis et in agris meditando et orando se confitebatur accepisse, et nullos se aliquando magis-

---

[1] See vol. II, pp. 183–186.

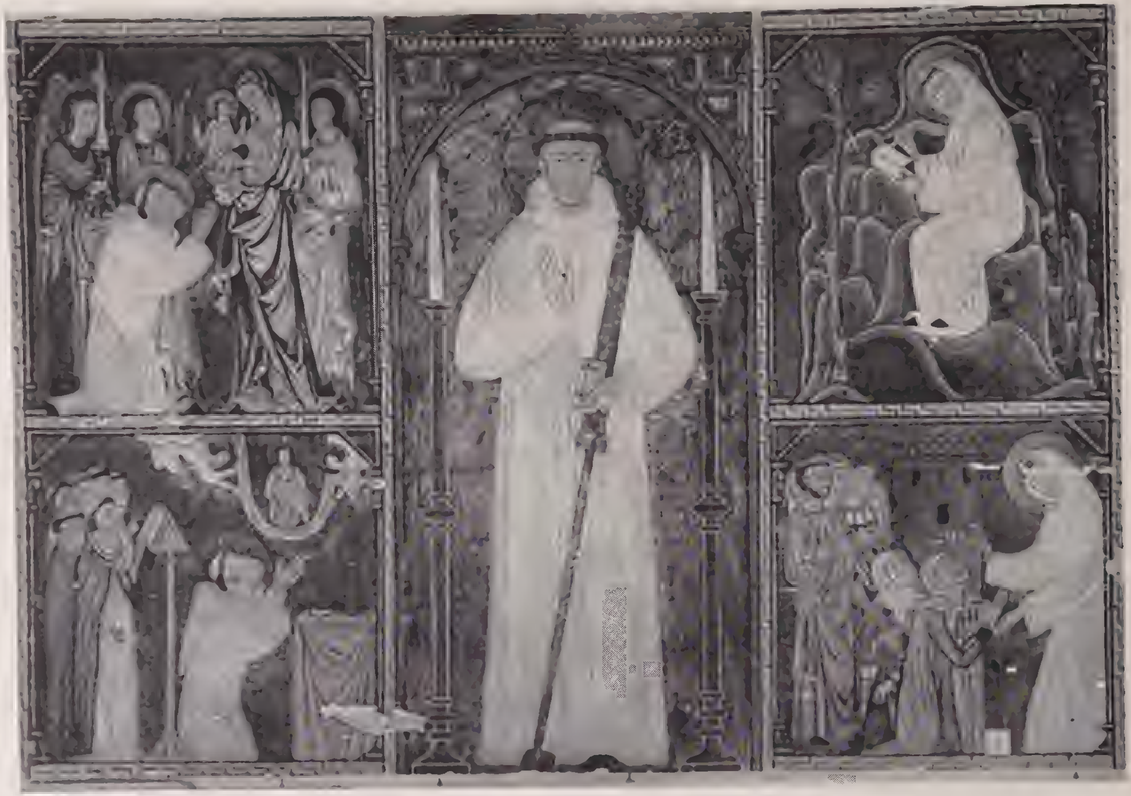

FIG. 303. RETABLE OF ST. BERNARD. MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

tros habuisse, nisi quercus et fagos, inter amicos dicere solebat"; his vision, while he is saying mass, of St. Malachy of Ireland transported to heaven (whom the repainter has changed into Our Lord by making the halo cruciform); and his presentation of his staff to the woman of Aquitaine that it may deliver her from the persecution of a demon.[1] The Gothic factors are so conspicuous that they might deceive one at first into classifying the retable, which may be dated at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, simply among the Franco-Gothic monuments of Spain. We may single out for mention the type employed for St. Bernard throughout the panel, the drapery and *déhanchement* of the Virgin in the representation of the vision, and the type of Child that she holds. The arch under which the central effigy stands is round, but its upper molding bursts into Gothic foliage, the capitals of its columns are Gothic, and the pieces of painted architecture, which, as so frequently in the panels of this period, fill the spandrels of the arch, include turrets with crockets. But the inspiration is not unadulteratedly French. United to the French influence are very patent Byzantine elements — the types of the angels in the vision of the milk and the compact groups of monks and spectators in the episodes of St. Malachy's appearance and of the cure of the woman possessed. It might be possible to account for the Byzantine qualities on the theory that they had lived on from the Romanesque of Catalonia; but the peculiar combination of stylistic factors leads one's mind almost involuntarily towards the place where there existed at this time the most conspicuous blend of the Byzantine and French Gothic strains, Siena. Such an interpretation is confirmed by the pronounced Sienese leanings embodied in the other Majorcan paintings of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and by a technical delicacy that was unusual among Spanish artists when they were left to their own devices. Yet the author is a man of no mean personal gifts, relating the pious narrative with appealing intensity and religious earnestness.

Majorcan painting followed closely the different stages of evolution through which its model, the school of Siena, passed, emerging thus only gradually into the fully Gothic style of the Trecento. The native developments, as usual in Spain, postdated those in Italy by something like a quarter of a century. In the retable of St. Bernard, the Byzantinism of Duccio is still a vital ingredient; in the retable of St. Quiteria,[1] which has passed from the hospital of S. Antonio Abad at Palma into the Museo Arqueológico and is also a capable piece of work, it has almost completely disappeared, but the Gothicism that has taken its place is as yet somewhat stiff and primitive. The large, standing, central effigy of the rarely depicted saint is surrounded by twelve scenes from her life arranged in three tiers and not separated by divisions of the frame. In the central pinnacle she is crowned by the angel who was her constant associate; in the other four pinnacles are busts of the Evangelists. Inasmuch as I have access to no more lengthy account of her than the summary of her *Acta* in the Bollandists under May 22, only the general course and not all the details of this representation of her story are clear to me. In the first section is shown her birth, whether or not according to the miraculous legend that she was one of nine children produced at a single parturition. The presence of the angel appears to symbolize the fact that she was to be educated in the Christian faith by this celestial agent. The next section may represent the maiden brought before her father, after she has grown to maturity, or her refusal of marriage. The following five sections seem to embody the tale of the arrest and imprisonment of St. Quiteria and her sisters (or, according to another version, the thirty damsels and eight boys who were her companions) in the valley of Aufragia by King Lentimanus, of the prodigies wrought by her during her incarceration, and of her resultant conversion of the monarch. In the eighth section, she and the two bishops, Martianus and Valentianus, heal the sick and halt in the presence of Lentimanus. The next episode I cannot interpret; but the last three sections depict her decapitation, an angel carrying her head (not, I think, the customary version of St. Quiteria carrying her own head at the direction of an angel), and some ceremony or miracle at her tomb. Almost the only Byzantine touch left is the type of the saint's mother ensconced in a curiously draped bed at the birth. The Gothic poses, however, especially in the large central effigy, are still rather rigid, and the draperies flow in the long, smooth lines of early Gothic instead of in the later sinuosities. The central effigy recalls the youthful works of Pietro Lorenzetti, and the retable can scarcely be assigned to a date subsequent to 1350, the Majorcan development following naturally some years after the corresponding stage in Italy. Inasmuch as the works with plain gold backgrounds ordinarily precede those with diapered gold, the fact that this altarpiece belongs to the first class also points to a somewhat early moment in the Trecento. It is particularly the large figure of St. Quiteria that bears the Italian stamp. The forms in the narrative scenes might be Franco-Gothic, and one frequently wonders, in Majorcan painting, as in the case of the St. Bernard retable, whether the Franco-Gothic style had not obtained a rather firm footing in the island and whether the Italian strain, as often in contemporary Catalonia, did not combine with it. But since Sienese painting itself was so thoroughly subjected to Gallic action that its forms are often hardly distinguishable from those of Franco-Gothic art, the major influences, which were undoubtedly Italian in the central effigy, probably had a like origin in the lateral sections. In any case, the master, in the delicacy of his workmanship in the narrative scenes, particularly in the draperies, was surely thinking of models in illumination, whether they were Sienese or Franco-Gothic miniatures or native Spanish adaptations of these foreign prototypes.

---

[1] The staff seems to show that this is the scene depicted, and not his cure of the possessed woman of Milan or his encounter with his worldly sister, Humbeline.

---

[1] For the attribution of this retable to Juan Loert, see below under the discussion of the retable of St. Eulalia.

The advance to the next stage of a freer Gothicism is very tangibly illustrated by the retable of St. Eulalia of Mérida[1] (Fig. 304), once in the chapel of this saint in the cathedral of Palma and now in the sacristy. Inasmuch as the structure and composition of the altarpiece are exactly similar to those of the St. Quiteria picture, the stylistic differences stand forth the more clearly. The central effigy is here surrounded by sixteen narrative scenes, disposed in four rows and not separated from one another; the angel that crowns St. Quiteria in the central pinnacle is absent, but the four lateral pinnacles contain busts

---

[1] Not the St. Eulalia of Barcelona; cf. J. M. Quadrado, *Islas Baleares*, 705, note a.

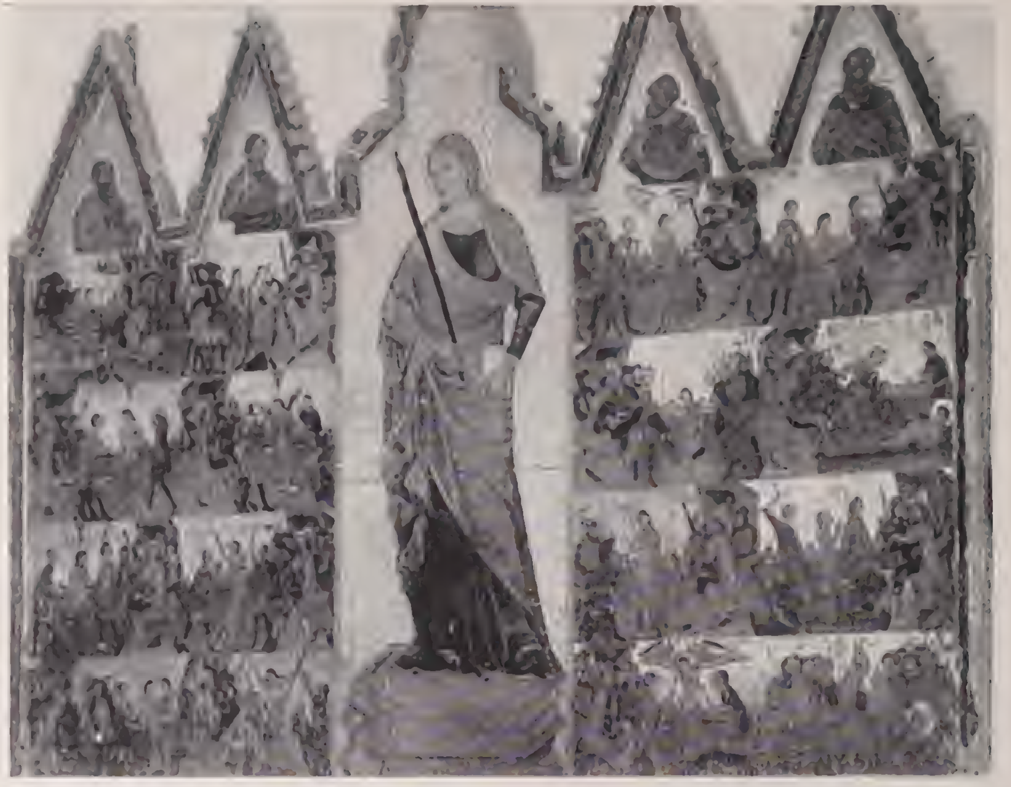

FIG. 304. RETABLE OF ST. EULALIA. CATHEDRAL, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

of the Evangelists, over whom there still hovers a breath of Duccio's Byzantinism. The narrative scenes, except for the first two episodes and the last, the voluntary journey to martyrdom in a cart,[1] the trial, and the interment, are merely a long, monotonous succession of St. Eulalia's motley tortures, with very little attempt at variety in composition from section to section. The draperies now wind in and out and hither and thither in the approved fashion of the Trecento, most conspicuously on the central figure in contrast to the St. Quiteria. Although the arrangement of the retable parallels that of St. Quiteria at every point and although the very pedestal upon which the central effigy stands is similar, the picture does not appear to be a work of the same master even at a later moment in his career. Not only is the author of the St. Eulalia altarpiece a less proficient artist, but he has a curious mannerism of painfully elongating many of his forms. The Majorcan critics have guessed that he may have been a master named Juan Loert, who was active in the adornment of the cathedral in the first half of the century, and they suppose that the retable was ordered by the bishop Berenguer Batlle, who died in 1349 and is buried in the chapel of St. Eulalia; but stylistic evidence would date the picture too late for these surmises, in 1375 or even the last quarter of the fourteenth century. They have then proceeded to ascribe to Loert the earlier altarpiece of St. Quiteria, since they believe, in my opinion wrongly, that both pictures were executed by a single artist.

To the same moment in the evolution of Majorcan painting as the St. Eulalia retable belong two retables of St. Paul and of Sts. Matthew and Francis in dependencies of the cathedral at Palma, which are analogous enough to each other in general structure to be considered together, although the identity is less complete than in the pair of examples just considered. But one is often frustrated in the attempt to group together monuments of Majorcan painting under attributions, for it does not seem possible to maintain that even these two retables are by a single hand or by the hand either of the St. Quiteria or St. Eulalia altarpieces. Both retables perhaps reveal an influence of the Serra brothers of Barcelona, but the resemblances are not so exact that they may not be interpreted as an independent development in Majorca on the same Italian models. The similarities in shape and even in style to the altarpiece of St.

---

[1] The legends of the Sts. Eulalia of Barcelona and Mérida are almost identical; but, whereas the former is said to have gone to Barcelona alone and on foot, the latter was accompanied by her most faithful friend, Julia, who in the retable is represented with her in the cart and in the trial. The presence of soldiers beside the cart may indicate that the painter did not follow the version of the story that conceived St. Eulalia of Mérida's journey to the city as a voluntary search for martyrdom.

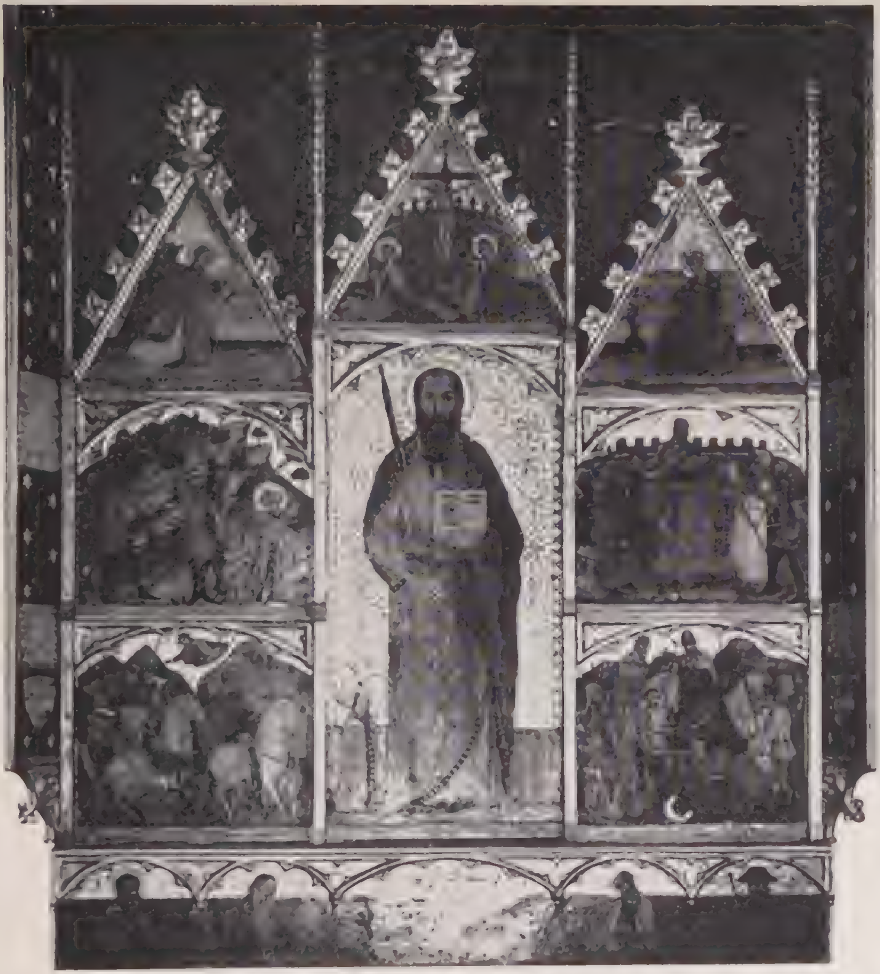

Fig. 305. RETABLE OF ST. PAUL. EPISCOPAL PALACE, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Lucy at Albal, near Valencia, whatever be the explanation, have already been touched upon. The retable dedicated to St. Paul is in a chapel of the Episcopal Palace (Fig. 305). The standing effigy of the Apostle in the central panel, worshipped by a diminutive bishop as donor,[1] is flanked by four scenes from his life, his participation in the stoning of St. Stephen, his conversion, preaching, and decapitation. The central pinnacle contains the Crucifixion, with a curious Spanish attempt at an unusual emotional posture in the Virgin, like the effort by Borrassá or a pupil in the Magdalene of the Crucifixion in the altarpiece of the Baptist in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs at Paris; the lateral pinnacles are occupied by Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate. In the predella, set under five abnormally broad arches but not separated by partitions, are the Pietà, the mourning Mother and St. John, St. Anthony Abbot and Santiago. Although in the lateral compartments the gold is unpatterned, behind the central St. Paul it is diapered with a lovely but, for the period, rather ostentatious foliate design. The whole retable reveals little that could not have been created by a rather provincial Italian Trecentista who was under Sienese influence, except the slightly ethnic quality of the types. It is possibly fortuitous that these often recall the productions of the Serra brothers. The color, the resort to contemporary costume, and the military garbs in the episodes of the conversion and decapitation occasion a resemblance to the works of Spinello Aretino, although even so secondary a Giottesco as Spinello is a more facile draughtsman. One of the most thoroughly Italianate elements is the landscape in the lapidation of St. Stephen.

The other retable, now in the Oratorio de la Almoyna (Alms) but formerly in the present chapel of Corpus Christi in the cathedral itself, which of old was dedicated to St. Matthew, displays in its central panel this Apostle and Evangelist together with St. Francis of Assisi (Fig. 306). In the lateral compartments are three scenes from the life of each saint, and in the pinnacles the customary Crucifixion and Annunciation. As in the altarpiece of St. Lucy at Albal, the uprights of the frame are featured, and embellished with small effigies of saints and escutcheons. There are resemblances to Spinello also in this

---

[1] Identified by the escutcheon as Antonio de Galiana, thus dating the retable 1363–1375.

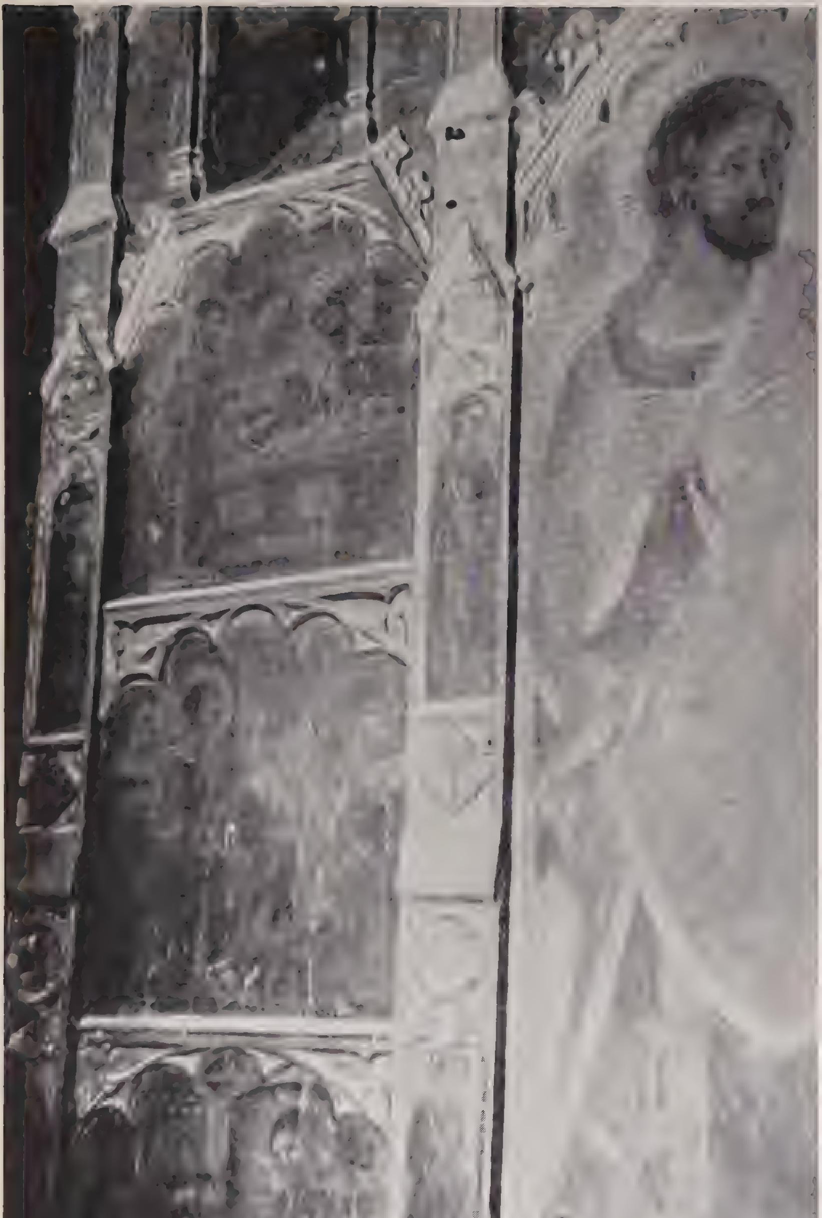

Fig. 306. LEFT HALF OF RETABLE OF STS. MATTHEW AND FRANCIS. ORATORIO DE LA ALMOYNA, PALMA

retable of Sts. Matthew and Francis, particularly in the color, and the types of the saints on the frame and even of other figures might be interpreted as having some relation to the production of the Serras. Yet the types, with the tendency in the narrative scenes to disproportionately large heads, are not those of the St. Paul altar. Gold is also more profusely used on the figures themselves. The costumes very generally have gilt borders, and occasionally, as upon the young St. Francis praying before the Crucifix, the garments consist entirely of gold brocade. The composition for St. Francis's renunciation of his father is original, for the boy does not stand, as ordinarily in this scene, but kneels with his arms in the lap of the protecting bishop.

In passing from retables of the second half of the fourteenth century to single figures or fragments, we come at last to two works that with certainty and to a third work that with high probability can be ascribed to a known personality, Juan Daurer, whose activity may be traced in the documents from 1358 until his death between 1404 and 1407. One of these works is authenticated by the signature, accompanied by the date 1373, a panel of a large standing Madonna, once the centre of the high altar of the parish church at Inca on the island and now relegated to a chapel at the left of the nave (Fig. 307). The tunics of the Mother and Child consist of a red and gold brocade; the Virgin's mantle was originally blue, and there was an attempt to represent a fur lining. The gold background is patterned, in the Valencian way, only at the borders. Despite the restorations perpetrated in 1884, it is easy to see that Daurer was a painter of parts. The impress of a modicum of Spanish nationality upon the thoroughly Italian Gothic forms produces an effect which is strangely like that of Sicilian painting of the Quattrocento. The Child has a curious Hebrew cast of features that prophesies the kind of countenance which was to be affected by Cosimo Rosselli in Italy. Since, if the picture had been found in Italy, its primitive aspect and particularly the very moderate *déhanchement* would not have permitted a date after 1350, the existence of the inscribed year, 1373, constitutes a caution against assigning to the first half of the Trecento other Majorcan paintings in a still undeveloped style, such as the

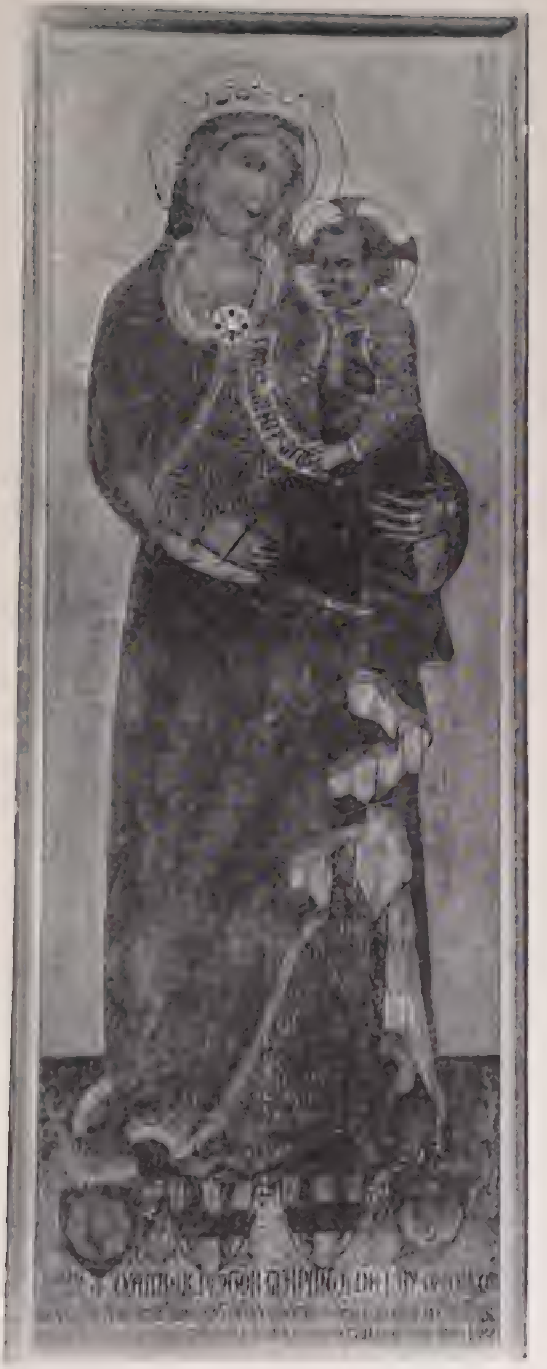

FIG. 307. JUAN DAURER. MADONNA.
PARISH CHURCH, INCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

altar of St. Eulalia. Daurer's other authenticated work, a figure of St. Michael in the parish church of Muro in Majorca, the payment for which he acknowledges in a receipt of January 11, 1374, I have not been able to see. In the panel of the Coronation accompanied by musical and adoring angels, No. 8 of the Museo Arqueológico (Fig. 308), the types and the rather bold and broad character of the drawing closely resemble the qualities revealed by Daurer at Inca; and the rudeness of the craftsmanship, which is of the grade of the most provincial Sienese production and betrays itself particularly in the head of Christ, can scarcely offset the stylistic parallelisms so far as to refute Bertaux's and Mayer's attribution to this master. The Virgin's countenance, indeed, is a veritable replica of the curious snooping type of Inca, exhibiting the same peculiar adaptation of the Sienese eye, the same narrow, sharp-pointed nose, the similar line for indicating the nostril, the identical mouth and queer upper lip, and exactly the same three-quarters position of the face with equal measurements of the cheek that is turned toward the spectator. The picture provides also a fairly definite instance of an indebtedness to Catalan precedent, for the composition almost reproduces Ferrer Bassa's Coronation at Pedralbes. All treatments of this theme are, to be sure, very much alike, but the repetition of Ferrer Bassa's angel in the lower right corner, with the same tilt of the head and position of the musical instrument, reveals the Majorcan artist's source. He had perhaps not seen Ferrer Bassa's fresco in the cloister of Pedralbes, but the Catalan master had probably made close replicas of the fresco in retables or mural paintings situated in more accessible spots.

Daurer's wife was the sister of a gilder and painter, Martín Mayol, who belonged to an old and numerous dynasty of Majorcan artists of this surname. This master or another painter of the same appellation is said to be the certified author of a retable or two retables in the parish church of the town of Santa Margarita on the island, executed towards the end of the century.[1]

A manner analogous to that of Daurer, though not, I think, identical with it, is incorporated in a fragment of a retable in the church of Sta. María del Puig, near Pollensa, a panel repre-

---

[1] See Appendix.

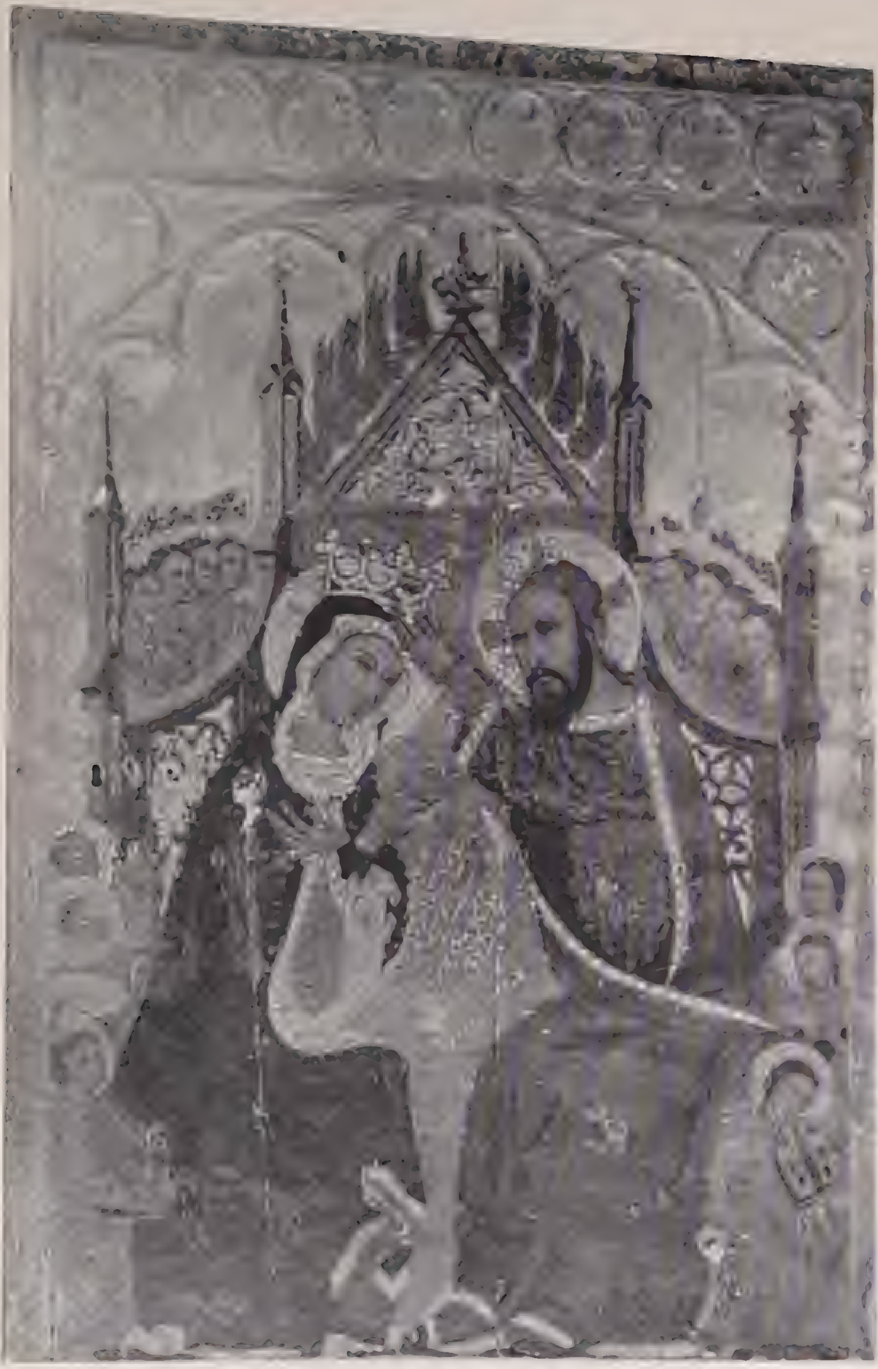

Fig. 308. JUAN DAURER (?) CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

senting the Virgin and Child seated on a cushion and serenaded by six hovering, music-making angels (Fig. 309). The pinnacle with the blessing Father and the framing uprights with six small effigies of standing feminine saints are also preserved. The gold of the background is diapered. The composition looks as if it had been suggested by the Serra cartoon for the Madonna of Humility; but the Child is not nursing, and the moon is absent, although the crescent shape of the scroll that He carries with the words, *Ego sum via veritas* . . ., may be an adaptation of the lunar lines to a new purpose. The dependence upon Siena is quite as patent as in Daurer's productions, but the execution, however mediocre, is less cramped and rigid.

In the church of Sta. Eulalia at Palma is a large panel of the red-clad Salvator Mundi in a style which is slightly more matured and certainly more masterful than that of Daurer and which constitutes a capable imitation of prototypes by Simone Martini (Fig. 310). Just above the pavement on which Our Lord stands it bears a signature that has been read as Francesch (Francisco) Camps; but since, in the surname, what has been thought an *a* may possibly be an *o* and the abbreviation for the end of the word, *m̄s*, may stand for *mes* rather than *mps*, the painter is perhaps the Francisco Comes who is recorded in a document of 1415 as having turned over the completion of a retable at Valldemosa to another master, Nicolás Marsoll.[1] A panel of St. Christopher in the church of Sta. Cruz likewise belongs to the last years of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century but is technically less distinguished.

None of the works hitherto considered supplies any really tangible evidence that their Majorcan authors resembled their Catalan colleagues in an alertness, not only to the aesthetic achievement of Italy, but also to the sprightly beginnings of the international movement in France. Such evidence, however, is gaily forthcoming in the production of an anonymous master who still seems to belong to the Trecento and whose capital extant piece is a panel of St. George and the dragon that

---

[1] For the document, see E. Aguiló, *Notes y documents per una llista d'artistes mallorquins*, *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Luliana*, XI (1905–1907), 9. This Francisco Comes cannot be identical with his homonym, a glassworker, mentioned in a document of 1349: see *ibid.*, p. 4.

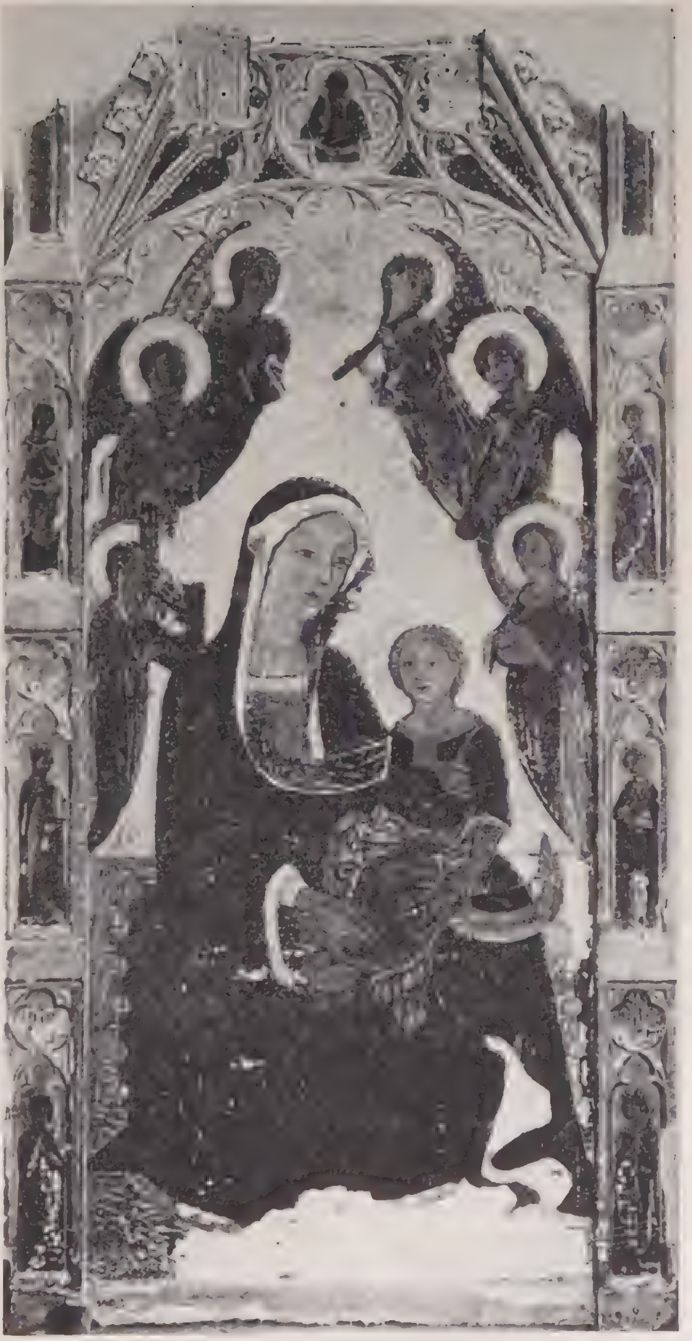

FIG. 309. MADONNA AND ANGELS.
STA. MARÍA DEL PUIG, POLLENSA

(Photo. Bestard)

has entered the Museo Arqueológico at Palma as No. 17[1] from the Franciscan church at Inca (Fig. 311). The analogy to the rendering in the tripytch at Fenway Court, Boston, and the possibility that both are derived from a lost original, perhaps by Jaime Serra, have already been considered. The Palma master uses the international composition for the theme, and, a true Majorcan, endows it with less vigor than the Catalan painters but with quite as much international prettiness, sprinkling the setting with groves, castles, and a gently flowing fountain. The types may well be modifications of those created by Jaime Serra, and the solid gold brocade of the princess's fur-lined mantle, though the delightfully executed pattern is different, repeats one of Jaime's favorite devices for brightening a picture. The draughtsmanship of the insular artist, nevertheless, is puerile and nowhere more so than in the steed that even a child would pout at having to use as a hobby-horse. He has so far neglected to bring the landscape into scale with the figures that the loosely scattered clumps of trees are dwarfed to the size of playthings.

Bertaux and Mayer are probably right in ascribing to the same untutored but fanciful painter the fragments of a retable in the Museo de la Lonja at Palma, the principal section of which depicts Sts. Dominic and Peter Martyr upholding the mantle of the kneeling Virgin of Mercy over a group of votaries among whom are the two dead or stricken figures of a king and a knight. Above this scene, in the central portion, are a representation of the Trinity adored by angels and at the top the Resurrection. The left lateral section is also preserved, containing a large standing effigy of one of the several episcopal saints named Vincent[2] or of St. Brice, archbishop of Tours, and, in the

---

[1] Not, of course, the later representation of the subject in the same Museum ascribed to Pedro Nisart.

[2] Not, of course, St. Vincent Ferrer whom one would expect in a Dominican picture but who, since he did not die until 1419, was probably alive when this retable was painted and was not canonized until 1455. The figure would seem to be identified as a St. Vincent by an inscription at the right of his head and by the legend in the book that he holds, which mentions the blessings that God has bestowed upon St. Vincent; he is identified as a bishop by his vestments. But a later hand has added in black letters the inscription SAT BRES, i. e., Sant Bres, the Catalan for St. Brice. Since the feast of Sant Bres appears in the entries of the year 1437 in the *Manual de novells ardits* (publication at Barcelona, vol. I, 1892, p. 368) as on November 13, the Catalan name Sant Bres stands for St. Brice of Tours. Did some later devotee of St. Brice attempt to reinterpret the episcopal St. Vincent as his patron?

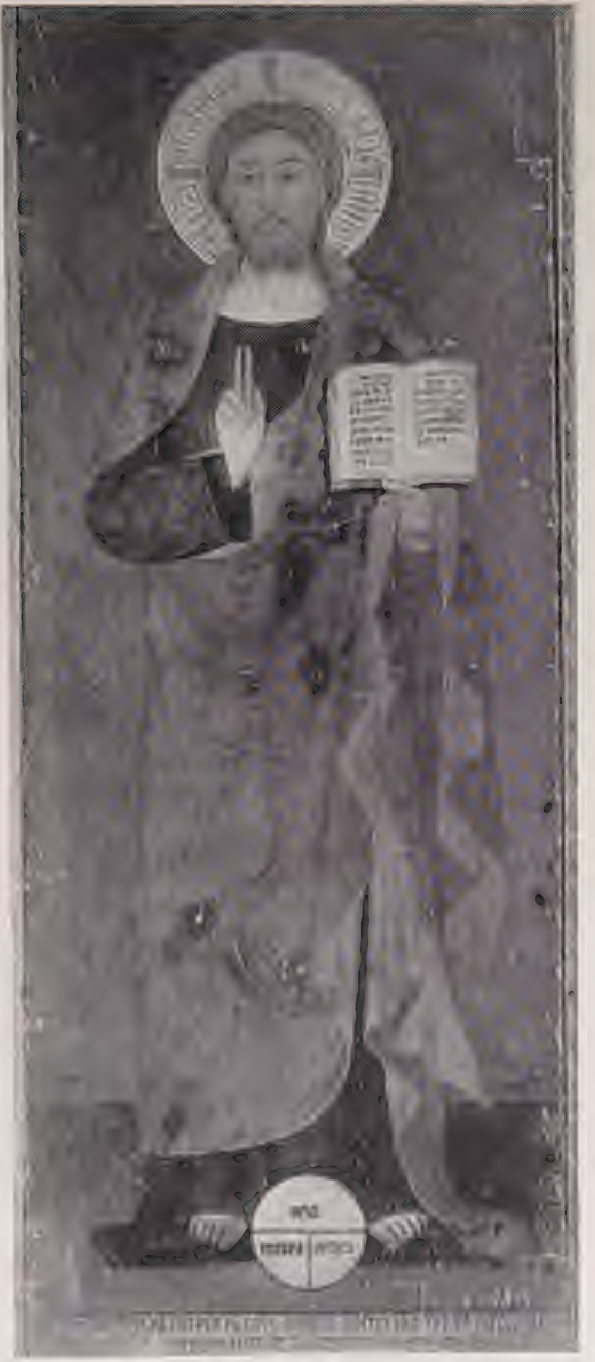

FIG. 310. FRANCISCO COMES (?). SALVATOR MUNDI.
STA. EULALIA, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

pinnacle, Gabriel of the Annunciation. The uprights of the frame are adorned with the customary small figures of saints. At my last visit to the Museum, there was grouped with this *ensemble* a lateral section remaining from another slightly later altarpiece and representing St. Onuphrius and, again in the pinnacle, the Virgin of the Annunciation, who, however, is too small in scale to have been the companion of the above-mentioned Gabriel. The general divergences in manner and in the frame prove that this whole lateral piece could not have been a part of the retable of the Madonna of Mercy. The style and types of this retable resemble rather convincingly those of the St. George panel. The Virgin, in particular, should be compared with the princess. The same reminiscences of Jaime Serra also crop forth, for instance, in the Gabriel, the saints on the frame, and especially in the Christ of the Resurrection. The landscape of the principal compartment is likewise spotted with pretty international bits of mediaeval buildings and culminates at the top of the central hill in a windmill against the gold sky.

But this interest in the international movement was only a transitory phenomenon. Another anonymous painter, who worked in the closing years of the fourteenth and the opening years of the fifteenth century, reverts to a more faithful allegiance to Sienese models than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, adopting even the Italian form of altarpiece, a polyptych with the sacred personages ranged in a series of vertical compartments and without lateral sections devoted, in the Spanish way, to a collection of small narrative scenes. Such is the retable in the church of Montesión at Palma (Fig. 312), the central compartment of which contains the Madonna and Child receiving the homage of musical and flower-presenting angels and the lateral compartments the standing effigies of Sts. Blaise, Mary Magdalene, Lucy, and Anthony Abbot. Between the Madonna and the usual pinnacle of the Crucifixion is interposed the Presentation of the Virgin; the other four pinnacles enshrine busts of other saints. The predella displays in seven subdivisions the life of Our Lady and is supported on a molding embellished with medallions of the Pietà and still further sacred personages. The style is a provincial and general

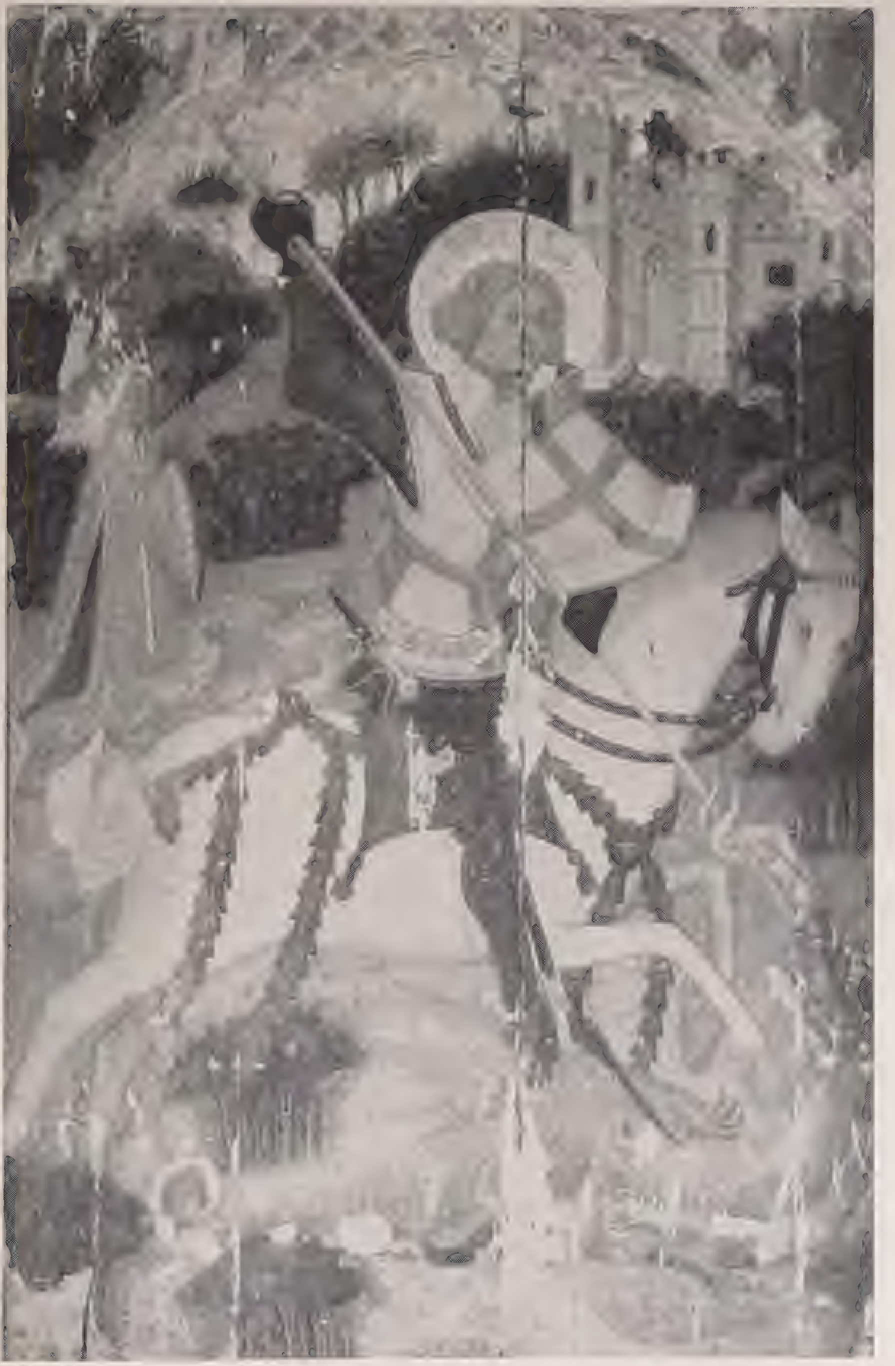

Fig. 311 ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

reflection of the attainments of some such Sienese master as Luca di Tommè, Bartolo di Fredi, or Taddeo di Bartolo, although it is not an exact imitation of the manner of any one of them. The color is also quite Sienese, accented by the gilded borders to the garments. The more carelessly executed predella perhaps witnesses slightly to an admiration for the Serra workshop, which is totally absent from the thoroughly Italianate principal figures in the body of the retable. Even in these figures, however, the draughtsmanship is not thoroughly competent. But the Italians themselves sometimes nod. Taddeo Gaddi, for instance, betrays much the same faults of a varying scale of proportion for the actors in his fresco of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Baroncelli Chapel, S. Croce, Florence, as does the Spanish painter in his interpretation of the subject. Yet, although this is one of the most creditable pictures of the Majorcan school, the technical ability, in general, does not rise to Italian standards. The painter is best, as the Spaniards so often are, in the exquisite patterning of the gold, for example upon the cushion that is the Virgin's seat.

Probably by the same hand is a retable of similar Italian structure in the chapel of the Catlar family in the church of Sta. Eulalia at Palma. Its four chief compartments are occupied by the figures of Sts. Apollonia, Barbara, Lucy, and Blaise, and its predella consists of the Pietà and busts of saints. Pedro Catlar by his will of 1414 provided for the painting of this altarpiece, stipulating that the saints should be Praxedis, Blaise, Lucy, and John Evangelist;[1] but for some unknown reason the first and last gave way to Apollonia and Barbara. The artist has succeeded in this instance in endowing his prettily garlanded feminine forms with a wan loveliness peculiarly Majorcan in its character.

A large single effigy of St. James Major in the Museo Arqueológico, also clad in a gilt-edged mantle, is not unlike the figures of the "master of Montesión," but provides too little evidence for a definite attribution. The craftsmanship in the diapering of the gold background with a *motif* of a flower-pot here attains a degree of delicacy that is even above the Majorcan standard.

The Majorcan paintings that can be classified after about

---

[1] See P. Piferrer and J. M. Quadrado, *Islas Baleares*, 783.

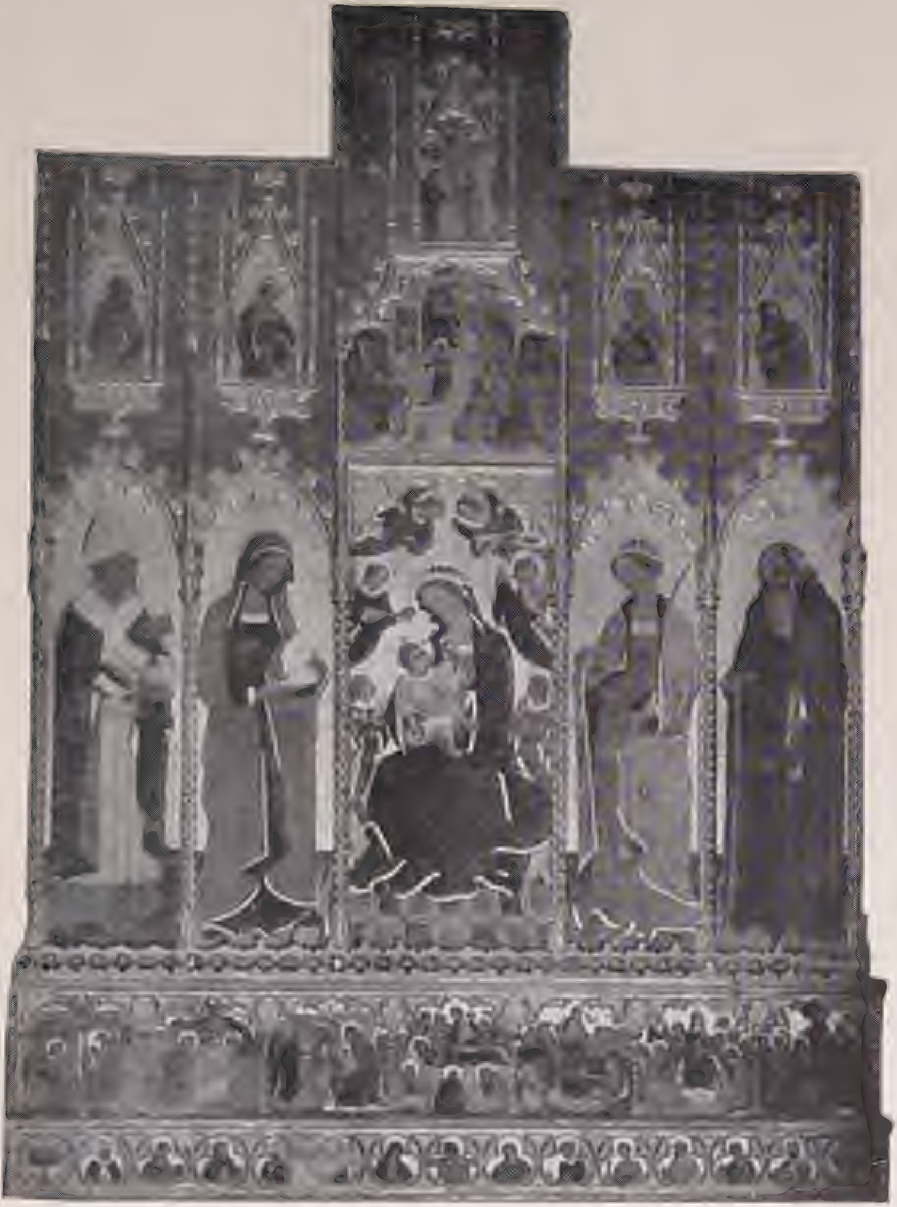

Fig. 312. RETABLE. CHURCH OF MONTESIÓN, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

1420 in the first half of the fifteenth century are very sparse. The altarpiece of St. Nicholas, from the oratory of this saint at Portopí, a suburb of Palma, and now in the Museo Arqueológico, rudely represents a stage in the art of the island corresponding to that which was exemplified in Catalonia by the followers of Borrassá about 1425 or 1430. The central effigy of St. Nicholas is flanked in the first pair of lateral divisions by Sts. Anthony Abbot and Clara (Fig. 313) and in a second pair of such divisions by six scenes from the holy bishop's life. It is possible that five smaller figures of God the Father and four Prophets are parts of the same monument. The forms, especially the St. Anthony, may actually reflect the influence of Borrassá, but it is not necessary to argue for more than a contemporaneous and similar development. A better executed

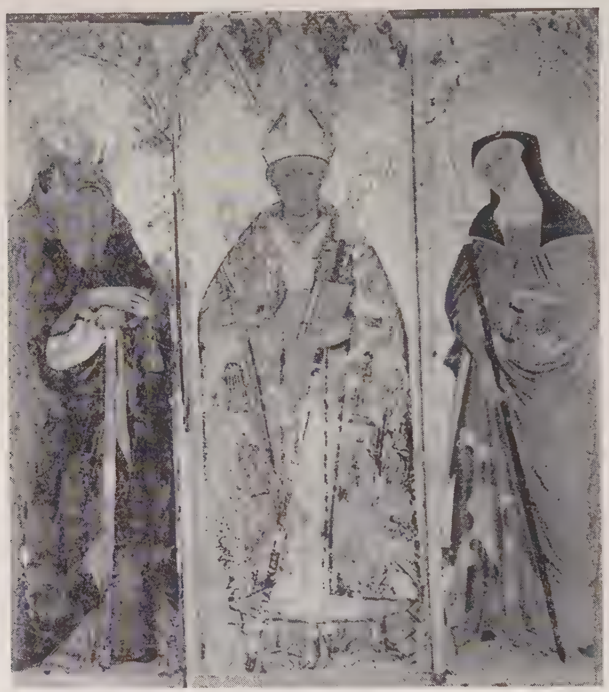

Fig. 313. STS. ANTHONY ABBOT, NICHOLAS, AND CLARA, CENTRAL SECTION OF RETABLE. MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

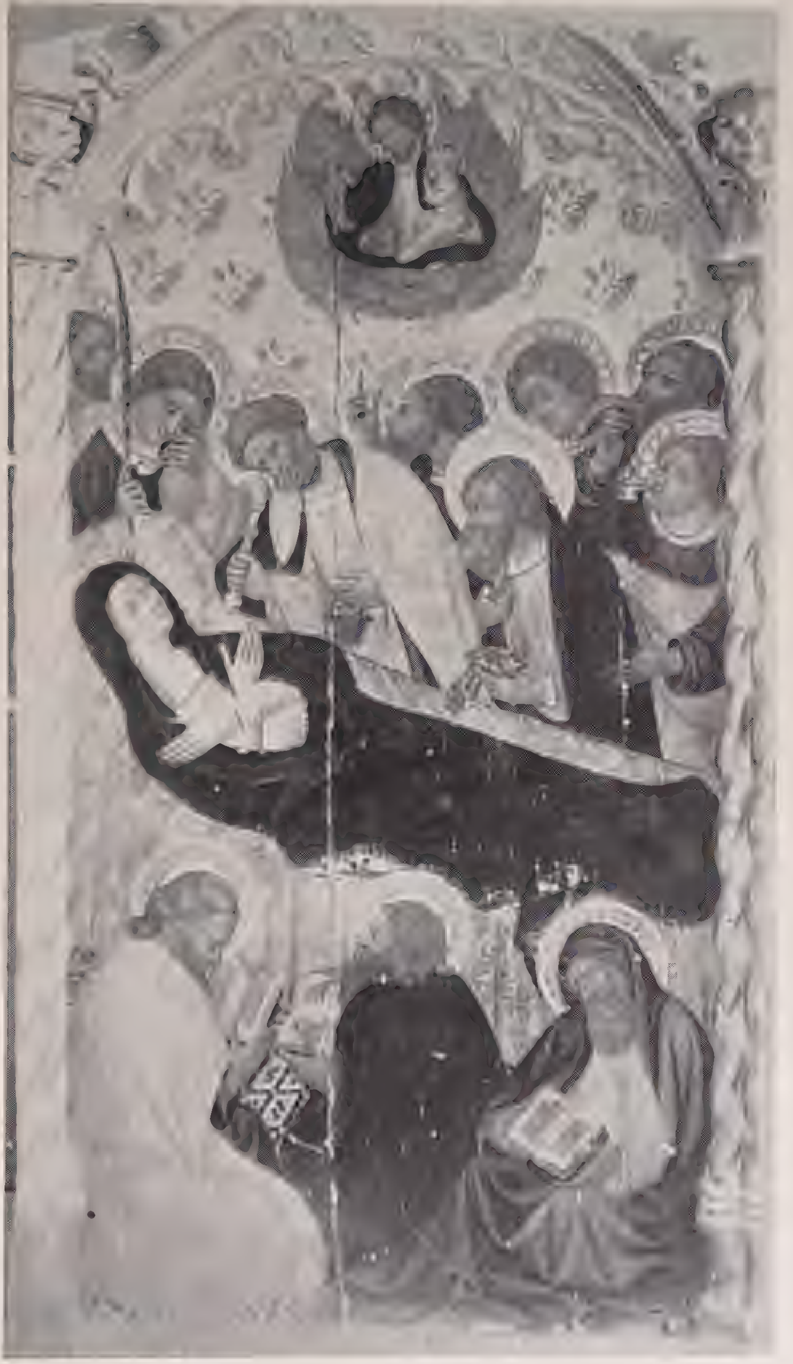

FIG. 314. DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. STA. EULALIA, PALMA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

panel of the Death of the Virgin in the church of Sta. Eulalia, Palma, conceivably, though not certainly, belongs to this later moment in Majorcan art (Fig. 314).

Tradition has it that a double veronica of the faces of Christ and of the sorrowing Virgin, said to have come from the Carthusian monastery of Valldemosa and now in the Museo Arqueológico, was a gift of Martin the Humane, and it has therefore been usually assigned to his reign (1395–1412); but there is a touch of the chiaroscuro modelling of the nascent Flemish school, especially in the white drapery of the Virgin under her blue mantle, that makes it difficult to accept a date prior to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. It must be remembered that there were similar stories of Martin's presentation of veronicas to the cathedrals of Valencia and Barcelona.[1] The Majorcan legend may be in so far true, that the diptych was not painted on the island, for it exhibits a masterly technique that it would be hard to parallel in local aesthetic achievement. The composition for the panel of the Virgin is not the same as that which lies at the basis of the series of veronicas of Our Lady to which belongs the example in the Museum of Vich attributed to Pedro Serra, nor does the Christ resemble the representation at Alcover; but the Museum of Vich does contain another panel of the Virgin's head that is almost a duplicate, executed in the second half of the fifteenth or in the early sixteenth century.[2] Whether the Vich specimen is copied from the Majorcan or whether both are derived from some lost original, it is impossible to determine. The one thing that argues for Majorcan manufacture in the case of the example in the Palma Museum is the ineffable delicacy with which the gold of the backgrounds and of the border of the Virgin's mantle is patterned.

---

[1] See vol. II, p. 278.

[2] J. Gudiol, *Vell i nou*, June, 1921, pp. 71–73.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES IN ARAGON AND NAVARRE

1. The Sources and General Characteristics

The greater part of Aragonese painting in the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century is a manifestation of the international style akin to that of France, influences from which entered the province to some extent from Catalonia but perhaps more largely by way of the adjacent domain of Navarre. The kingdom of Navarre itself, for some reason that is not obvious, was pictorially sterile during the whole Quattrocento. What few contemporary works its churches harbor were executed either by Aragonese artists or by native Navarrese who were so imbued with the aesthetic methods of the bordering province that they may be considered members of the Aragonese school. Navarrese painting may thus fitly find a place in this section of the book. It has already been seen how vigorous had been the life of Franco-Gothic painting in these two regions during the fourteenth century, and it was therefore wholly natural that their painters should continue to draw inspiration from the same source, namely France, now adopting the next stage of Gallic development, the international movement, and often the Franco-Flemish aspect of this movement. In addition to the broad French current there flowed into Aragon a smaller stream from the indigenous Catalan art of the Serras and Borrassá, sped along by the ready patronage that was bestowed upon such Catalan painters as Jaime Serra at the capital Saragossa; and it will be our first duty to study the Aragonese imitators of these masters. The Italian elements in the Catalan stream, by the time that they had been carried the long distance from the coast, had so far lost their vitality that they played but a small part in the fertilization of the Aragonese aesthetic soil. One or two instances of Italianism in Navarrese frescoes have already been considered in the Franco-Gothic section of this book. A manner like that of Guimerá is also encountered in Aragon, but it may embody an early aspect of the direct importation from France of the international style rather than a Catalan provenience. In one or two works it is perhaps possible to discern an admiration for the contemporary art of the contiguous province on the west, Castile. In the midst of the French and Catalan influences there was gradually evolved also a very pronounced indigenous Aragonese manner, represented chiefly by a series of Madonnas enthroned among angels. Its characteristics are a heaviness of form and bluntness of facial expression in contrast to the lighter and more ethereal manner that Catalonia and Valencia owed partly to Siena, a solider construction of the body in three dimensions, the more saliently ethnic type of the personages, and, perhaps already before the second half of the fifteenth century, a somewhat deeper richness of color. Aragonese painting of the period in question may, then, be considered under the five headings of the Catalan, Guimerá, French or Franco-Flemish, Castilian, and local groups.

2. The Catalan Influence

The outstanding example of the influence of the Catalan atelier of the Serras is the reliquary for a wonder-working Host, presented, according to the inscriptions, to the great monastery of Piedra (near Alhama) in 1390 during the abbotship of Martín de Ponce and now in the Academia de la Historia, Madrid. The monument, of wood, is furnished with opening wings, which give it the form of a triptych; on the inner faces of the wings are painted eight music-making angels, on the outer face of the left wing six scenes from the life of the Virgin, and on the outer face of the right wing six scenes from the Passion (Fig. 315). The combination of Moorish and Gothic *motifs* in the architectural decoration of the reliquary to form the style called *mudéjar* at once creates a more essentially Spanish effect than is to be found in Catalonia, which was virtually free from Arabic influence at this period. The oriental feeling is imparted also by the general lavishness of the embellishment, completed by the half-lengths of Christ, the Apostles, and two other, unidentified

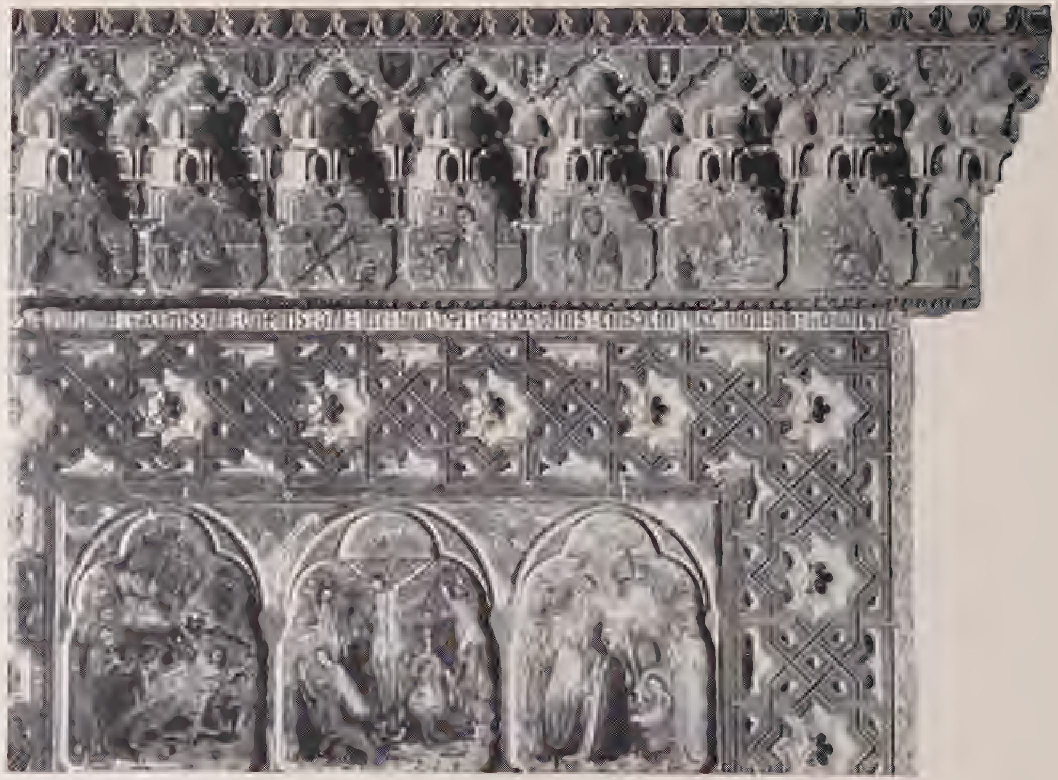

Fig. 315. SECTION OF RELIQUARY OF PIEDRA. ACADEMY OF HISTORY, MADRID

(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

saints that fill the interstices of the stalactite cornice at the top and by the half-lengths of Prophets and angels in the spandrels of the trefoiled arches containing the pieces of sacred narrative. The proximity to a Mohammedan civilization betrays itself even in decorative details of the paintings — in the Kufic inscriptions on the dalmatics of some of the angels, in the pavements on which they stand, and in the ornamentation of the sarcophagus that serves as the cradle of the Holy Child. The gold backgrounds for the eight angels are unpatterned, and those of the actual scenes are also plain except at the borders; but the gold on the spandrels of the compartments containing these scenes and on the frame is diapered with subtle delicacy. The pattern on the spandrels of the episodes from the life of the Virgin is simple; but on the spandrels that surround the Passion and, at the top, Christ and the Apostles, it becomes much richer and more elaborate, including often the *motif* of forms of animals, perhaps again a sign of Moorish interest. Gold is also extensively introduced for accents upon such elements as pieces of furniture in the scenes or as the brocades of costumes. The eight angels and the painted backgrounds of the architecture against which they stand appear to be extensively "restored." The style is what the Serras would have created, if they had been somewhat less conversant with the art of Siena and somewhat more Gallicized and Hispanicized. It is the half-lengths of the holy personages on the frame that are most Italianate. The color would strike the spectator as more Italian if the inlay of gold did not give it an illusory Spanish opulence. The musical angels recall those of the Serra-trained Master of the Cardona Pentecost; but, despite the charm that naturally attaches to this common mediaeval *motif*, and despite the general prettiness of the angelic accoutrement, of their bright brocades, and of the pleasantly gradated reds in their wings, they have something of an Aragonese glumness and severity. Now and then in the narrative scenes a face suggests rather vividly a prototype of the Serra workshop, as particularly one of the feminine countenances in the Presentation of the Virgin. The iconography does not reproduce that of the Serras very exactly. The scene of the Virgin's Birth is perhaps as close as any, and here the brocade over St. Anne's bed is given a conspicuousness that the

Serras liked and for the sake of this conspicuousness is left unforeshortened. The author modifies his lessons from the Serras by elongating his forms, thus endowing the Virgin of the Visitation and the Christ before Pilate even with a wraith-like abnormality.

Another factor that differentiates the paintings from the purely Catalan works under the Serra influence is the somewhat increased overlay of the international style, manifest especially in a greater fondness for contemporary costume. The *genre* of internationalism also brightens the pictures. In the Birth of the Virgin, a woman hands a boiled egg to St. Anne. In the Annunciation, the artist dwells upon the setting of the interior of a house by toying, however unsuccessfully, with the problem that in the seventeenth century was more seriously to concern Dutch painters, the representation of other chambers opening into the main room. Flowers not only often enliven the ground, but they cover even the top of the cave which shelters the Birth of Christ and which has its edges scalloped in the Sienese fashion. The earth in the scene of the nailing to the cross is littered with the gruesome implements of the executioner's equipment. This theme and the arrangement of the cross as a diagonal in the composition seem to have been peculiarly characteristic of the Aragonese school. But the most thoroughly indigenous element is the intensely Iberian type of the Christ in the scenes of the Passion, crowned with long, dark hair and already resembling the effigies of the Saviour carried in the *pasos* of the Spanish processions during Holy Week. Nowhere does the drawing attain the grade of real distinction. The hands are almost always too large. The ox and the ass in the Nativity of Our Lord fall short even of the Noah's Ark standard with which the artists of this period usually satisfied themselves. In the faces of the eight angels, the effect of inferior draughtsmanship is possibly the result of repainting.

The technical ability in the scenes from the Passion is curiously better than that betrayed in the life of the Virgin, but the general style in both sections is too nearly identical to justify any more drastic theory than that we have at work here two different men of the same atelier, the author of the panels of the Passion being doubtless the head of the shop. His highest capabilities are incorporated in the last scene, the Deposition, an original composition balanced about a truly impressive figure of the red-clad Magdalene as a central axis. The Spanish critic, Manuel Serrano y Sanz, frankly acknowledges that he is merely amusing himself with a guess when he wishes to identify this master with an Aragonese painter of Jewish blood, Guillén de Leví, none of whose documented works are extant but whose activity may be traced from 1378 to 1407. The only peg of any substantiality upon which to hang such an attribution would be the fact that he is known to have had connections with the town of Calatayud and its region, near which Piedra lies. The most interesting event of Guillén's life, as far as we are informed, was a bloody brawl in which he and some fellow roisterers were involved against a Pero Moragas and his cronies and for which the legal document of their reconciliation in 1380 is preserved. Serrano[1] believes that this Pero Moragas is none other than the great Catalan sculptor and goldsmith, Pedro Moragues,[2] who was then employed at Saragossa by the magnanimous archbishop, Lope Fernández de Luna. If Serrano's surmise is correct, it may have been a case of professional jealousy, settled, not, as is the present habit of artists, by venomous tongues, but by honest blows. Inasmuch as converted Jews of the name of Leví were very numerous, there are no means of determining whether Guillén was a relative of the Juan de Leví to whom we shall be able to ascribe, with much plausibility, a retable at Tarazona.

Another manifestation of the Serras' influence in Aragon is found in the two tiers of multitudinous angels painted on wood in the spaces of the hexagonal *mudéjar* roof of the apse of the chapel in the castle of Mesones, north of Calatayud. The rich but not ostentatious angelic robes, some of them accented with gold and all of them set against a background that it is likely was originally of gold, illumine a framework that in itself witnesses to the aesthetic potentialities of the *mudéjar* style in the medium of wood. The whole assemblage, comprising the magnificent roof and its pictorial embellishment, constitutes one of

---

[1] *Revista de archivos*, XXXV (1916), 411; cf. vol. II, p. 78, n. 1.

[2] Despite the fact that in the document Moragas is called merely a *piquero* or pikeman, whereas Guillén is definitely denominated a painter.

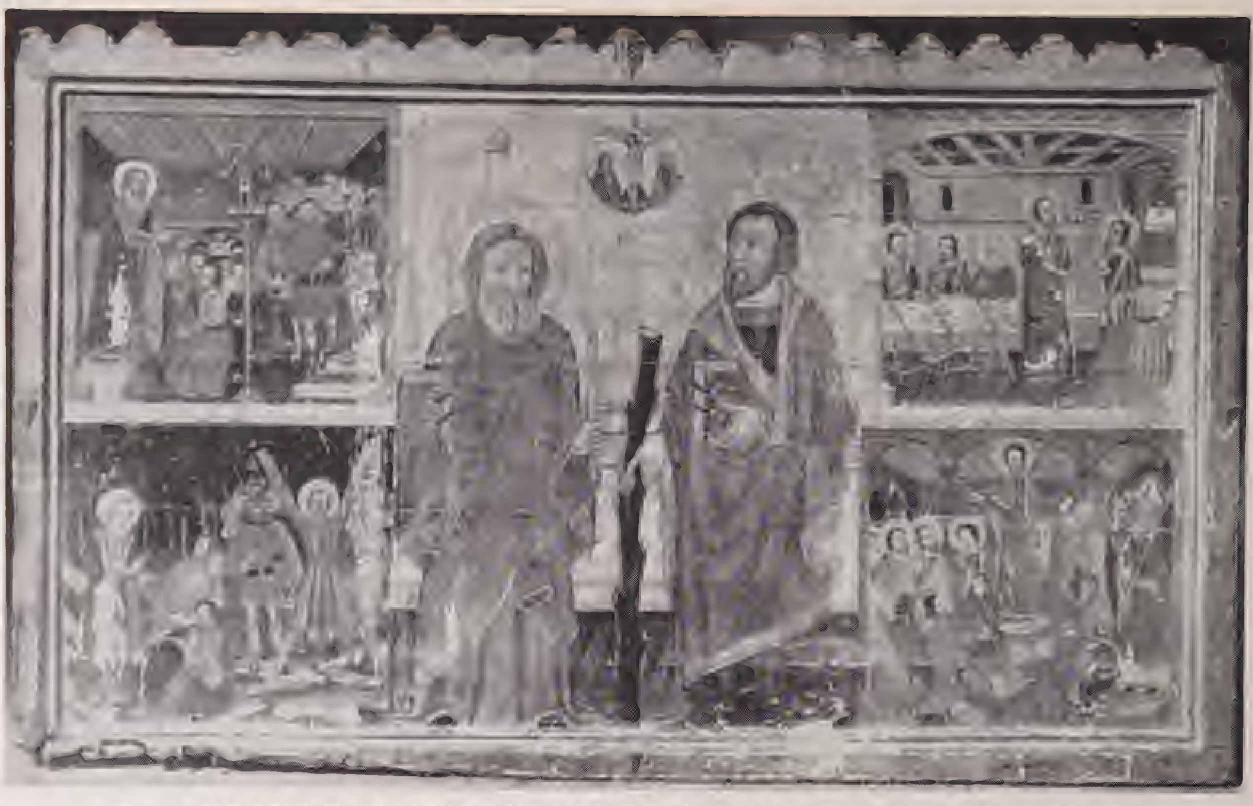

FIG. 316. RETABLE OF STS. PHILIP AND JAMES MINOR. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the most notable monuments of Europe, which has hitherto strangely passed almost unnoticed.

The retable or antependium of Sts. Philip and James Minor, formerly in the sacristy of the cathedral of Huesca and now in the Plandiura Collection (Fig. 316), is less early and more nearly related to the atelier of the Serras than has heretofore been discerned. The two Apostles are united on the panel because the Church honors them on the same day, May 1. Their large effigies at the centre against a gold background (patterned only at the edges and adorned with a medallion of the Crucifixion) are flanked at either side by two scenes from their respective lives, in all but one instance conceived as taking place in rooms of which the linear perspective is more correctly managed than in the average painting of the Trecento. St. Philip is first depicted as exorcising the pestilential dragon from under the idol and then in the lower compartment as restoring its victims to life and as finally himself crucified. The episodes are doubled also in both of the compartments devoted to St. James. At the upper right the risen Saviour directs him to break his fast and then eats with him. At the lower right St. James is pushed from the pulpit where, in the presence of the other Apostles, he had been preaching to the Jews, and he is eventually slain with the fuller's club. The work has usually been assigned to the first half of the century, and the presence of the escutcheons of Aragon and of the Counts of Urgel has led historians to ascribe its donation to some member or other of the royal house of Aragon, which possessed Urgel as an appanage. Sanpere picks out Alfonso IV of Aragon, dates the picture between 1329 and 1334, and arbitrarily attributes it to Bernardo de Pou, merely because Alfonso had this painter in his service when in 1314 [1] as Infante he received the county of Urgel from his father James II, some thirteen years before he himself succeeded to the crown. As a matter of fact, however, the work was surely painted in the second half of the century and possibly rather late in the century. The early dating has been based upon the fact of a certain rudeness and upon the defective proportions of the two central figures, which are abnormally obtruncated, partly doubtless because of the need of compressing them into

---

[1] See vol. II, p. 207.

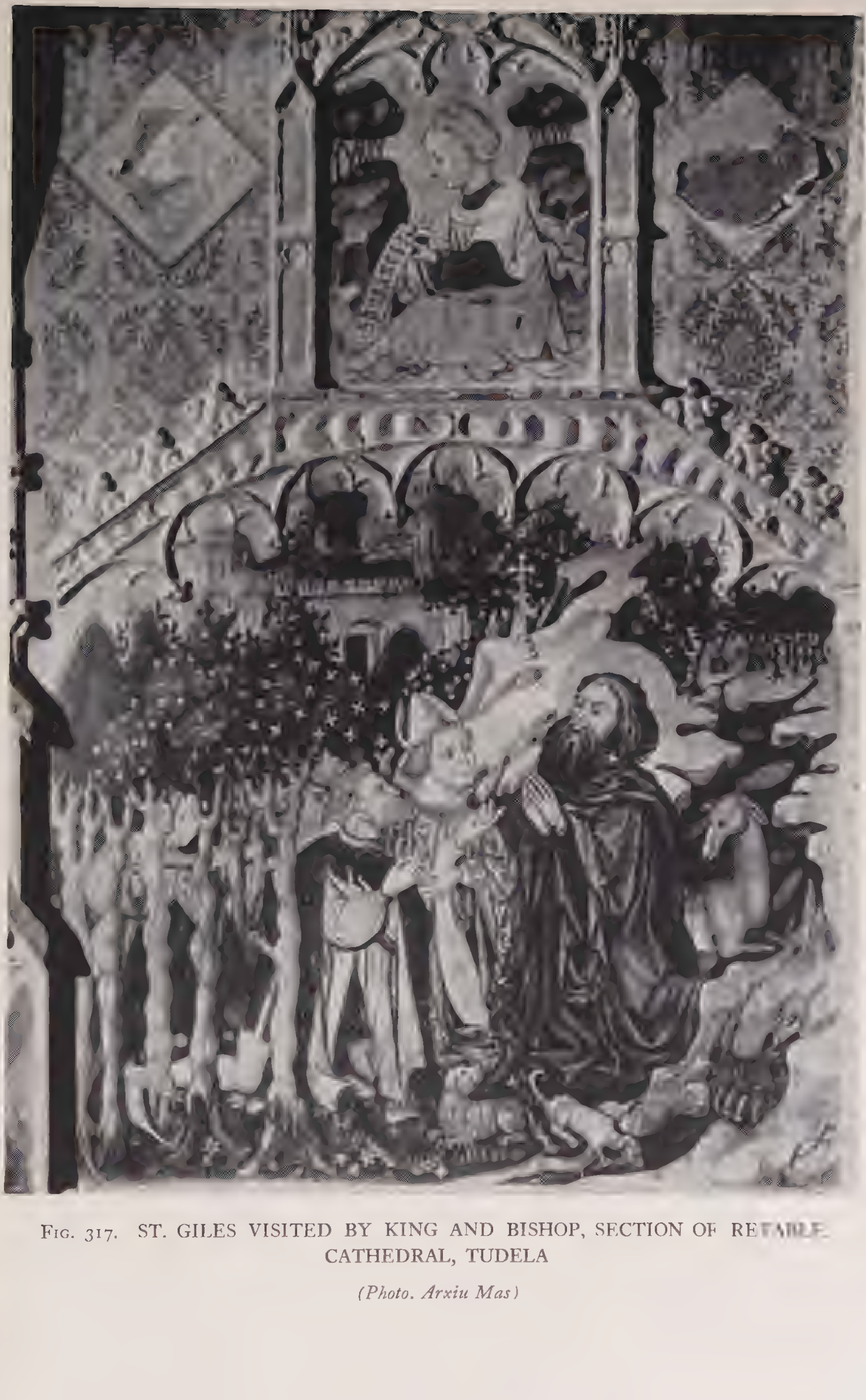

FIG. 317. ST. GILES VISITED BY KING AND BISHOP, SECTION OF RETABLE CATHEDRAL, TUDELA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

the low proportions of the panel. But the narrative scenes are quite as advanced as those of the Serra brothers, and the types, although not so finely delineated, are not unlike the forms utilized by this workshop. Now and again, as in the upper left and lower right compartments, some of the personages lead directly into the types of Borrassá. Italianism has become so diluted in the anonymous author's style that he may have known the foreign models only through their Catalan translations, for the ethnic character of the figures is thoroughly Iberian. Some have guessed that he was born in Aragon; and the strongly indigenous impress may, indeed, imply that he was another exponent of the Aragonese manner incorporated in the retable at San Julián de Banzo near Huesca, although in the Plandiura panel it is certainly fused with some slight knowledge of the Italianate school of Catalonia. The tonality reflects the brightness of miniatures.

Of Borrassá's influence on Aragonese art, the most signal relic is the large and comprehensive retable in the chapel of the Desposorio (Marriage of the Virgin) in the cathedral of Tudela. The owner of the chapel, magnificently interred here in a superb Gothic tomb, was the chancellor of Navarre under Charles the Noble, Mosén Francisco de Villaespesa, who with his wife is depicted, in the diminutive form of international portraiture, under the angelically supported mantle of the Virgen de la Esperanza in the central panel of the altarpiece. Inasmuch as the installation of the retable is mentioned in the act of the donation of the chapel to the Chancellor,[1] it must have been executed before his death in 1423.[2] Round about the central panel are seven scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin and at the top the usual Crucifixion. But the altarpiece extends at either side to include honors to still further sacred personages. In panels almost as large as that allotted to the central Virgin, at the left is depicted the reception of the stigmata by the Chancellor's patron, St. Francis, and at the right a standing effigy of St. Giles, to whom the chapel was dedicated at the time of its acquisition by Francisco de Villaespesa. Above each of

---

[1] J. Altadill in *Arquitectura*, VII (1925), 1–15.

[2] Altadill (*op. cit.*, 2) so reads the date on the Chancellor's tomb. P. de Madrazo (*Navarra y Logrono*, III, 383) reads it as 1421, which is also the date of the Chancellor's will. Bertaux and Mayer wrongly set his death in 1427.

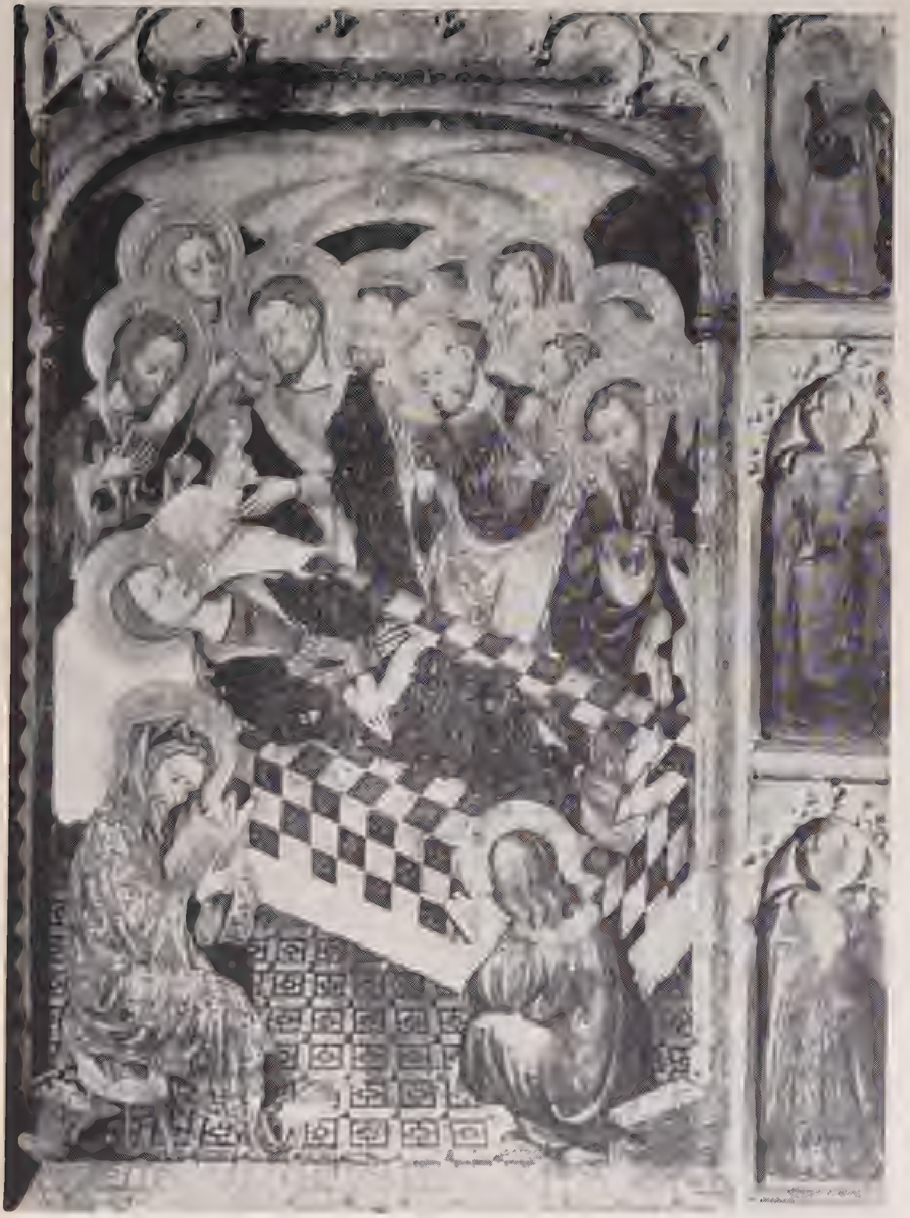

Fig. 318. DEATH OF THE VIRGIN, SECTION OF RETABLE. CATHEDRAL, TUDELA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

these sections are smaller compartments with two scenes from the life of each saint, St. Francis before the Crucifix in San Damiano and his discomfiture of a dragon, the Visigothic king and bishop discovering St. Giles in his retreat (Fig. 317) and an angel revealing to him the French king's sin while he is saying mass. The predella is devoted to the Passion, the five pinnacles to a blessing Saviour and the four Evangelists, the uprights of the frame to the usual little figures of saints (chiefly feminine), and the *guardapolvos* to the Prophets. The whole structure is surmounted by a frieze of angels' heads. Behind Pilate, in the scene of the hand-washing, a herald displays, twice written across his garments, the phrase in French, *En bon temps*, probably Villaespesa's heraldic *cri*. The style still reflects the tradition of the Serras, but there is much to show that the moderately gifted master was following rather Borrassá's modifications of this tradition. The types are often his fuller, more monumental forms, witnessing to a more mature moment in the evolution of Spanish art, for instance the Virgin on her death-bed (Fig. 318); and the draperies have his greater amplitude. The pattern upon the brocades (as in the case of Christ before Pilate or in the Via Dolorosa, the seated Apostle reading a book at the head of the Virgin's bier, and some of the feminine saints on the frame) is of the sort affected by Borrassá, and the general tonality of color is also his. The composition for Pentecost conforms to the iconography employed in the Serra tradition, but the scene of the nailing to the cross has the Aragonese stress upon the diagonal. The figures of the Chancellor and his wife in the central panel, when compared with the incisively characterized effigies on the sculptured tomb, betray how ineffective international painting proved when it essayed portraiture. One of the individual traits of the master is his emphasis upon and stylization of the landscape, to which Mayer alludes. He has derived his general type of landscape from the common international stock, but he breaks his rocks into an unusual number of crevices and he likes capriciously to schematize their lines, as well as those of his trees, into constant and violent curves that make the spectator feel as if he were looking at the scenes through dizzy eyes. Characteristic instances are provided by the *Noli me tangere*, the Ascension, and particularly St. Francis's reception of the stigmata. He likewise bestows upon Christ in the Nailing and the Crucifixion excessively long hair in order that he may conventionalize it into the same whimsical undulations. The retable bears a signature that is tantalizingly mutilated at the critical point: . . . AT ME PITO (= *pintó*, painted me), and I have been able to find record of no Aragonese painter surely active in the first half of the fifteenth century whose name ends in *at*.

Aragonese imitation of Borrassá is still further illustrated by a retable of St. Eulalia (?) over an altar at the left of the nave in the church of Banastás, a few kilometres north of Huesca. An inscription names the donor who kneels at the feet of the enthroned central effigy, Juan Doto (?), a canon of the cathedral of Huesca, and gives the date, 1414.[1] The four lateral compartments contain scenes from the saint's life, and the predella is dedicated to the Pietà and to half-lengths of holy personages. At the top of the altarpiece is a Crucifixion, but because of the darkness I was not able to make out, at my visit to the church, whether it is a part of the original *ensemble* or a later addition. The gold backgrounds are diapered, and gold is used to accent some of the garments. In addition to the general analogies to the production of Borrassá, several of the figures have blond curly hair of the kind that he paints so charmingly on youths and maidens. Although the author's gifts entitle him to no more than modest praise, he outdoes himself in the monumentality of the central saint, magnificent in the fullness of her sinuous Gothic draperies.

Probably to an Aragonese hand should be ascribed a small retable of Sts. Andrew and Vincent, again after the manner of Borrassá, in the Sala Capitular of the cathedral at Sigüenza.[2] At the left of the central panel, which contains the effigies of the pair of saints, are compartments depicting St. Andrew's martyrdom and his mission as pilgrim to warn the bishop of the devil's feminine disguise; one of the compartments at the right displays St. Vincent's martyrdom and the consignment of his body to the sea, and the other the finding of the parts of his body distributed in boats.[1] The Crucifixion surmounts the structure, and its uprights are decorated with small figures of saints. The style is derived from Borrassá, with the international elements much emphasized. The houses and castles of

---

[1] Ricardo del Arco (*La pintura de primitivos en el alto Aragón*, *Arte Español*, III, 393) wrongly reads the date as 1424. He also mistakes the saint for Andrew; but it is certainly a holy woman who is honored, and the scene in which she is tortured on a cross would seem to identify her as St. Eulalia. An altarpiece of the middle or second half of the century on the other side of the church is, however, dedicated to St. Andrew, whom in this instance Del Arco confuses with St. Bartholomew.

[2] See Appendix.

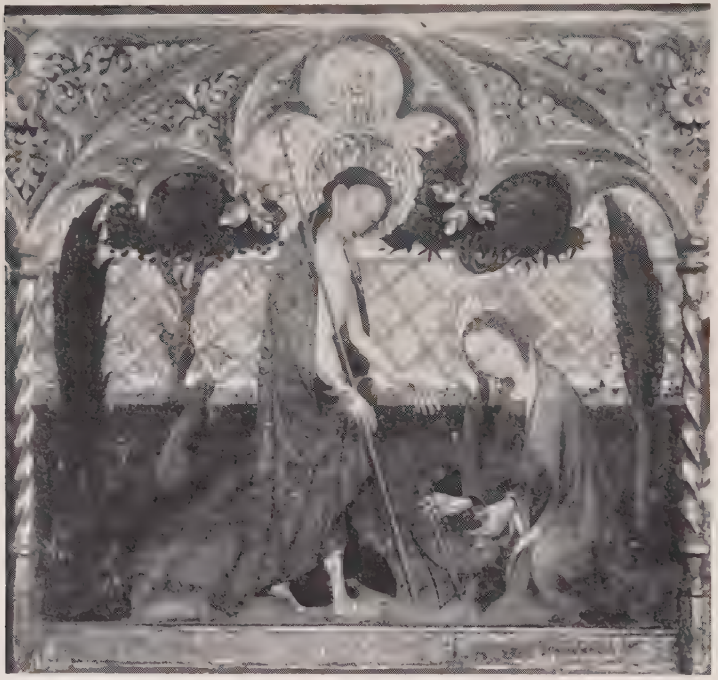

Fig. 319. *NOLI ME TANGERE*, SECTION OF A PREDELLA. SÁNCHEZ COLLECTION, MADRID

(Photo. Moreno)

the backgrounds are outlined against golden skies according to the adaptation of the international style that the Spaniards liked. The drawing is somewhat below par. The two central effigies are accommodated to a stubby canon for the human form that occurs also in the Aragonese retable or antependium of Sts. Philip and James Minor in the Plandiura Collection.

---

[1] I can find no authority for the form of St. Vincent's martyrdom here represented, decapitation, nor any account of a dismembered corpse; but I scarcely see what other deacon-saint it could be, particularly in light of the common legends about the maritime peregrination of his body.

A certain resemblance in types and general manner to the work of Borrassá's follower, Jaime Cirera, is revealed by a capably executed and rather attractive predella seen by me in the possession of Don Apolinar Sánchez at Madrid, although it is surely not the creation of Cirera himself. If the provenience were not reported to be the parish church of Villanueva del Huerva, west of Belchite and south of Saragossa,[1] one might have taken the picture to be purely Catalan. The relationship to Cirera consists in a like amalgamation of the Borrassá and Guimerá strains, not without reminiscences of Pedro Serra, and in a predilection for the same kind of gently anaemic specimens of humanity. One of the peculiarities of the types in the predella is a pointed chin, and yet the cast of countenance is different from that used by Ortoneda, although he likewise narrows the face at the bottom. The subjects of the six compartments of the predella are St. George and the dragon, the conversion of St. Paul (where an archaizing reversion to the modes of Pedro Serra is very apparent), the dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John, the Resurrection (according to the cartoon of the Serra workshop), the *Noli me tangere* (Fig. 319), and a *santa conversazione* of Sts. Catherine, Agatha, and Lucy seated upon a bench.

3. The Aragonese Counterpart of the Manner of Guimerá

Next there may be catalogued, as a second group in Aragonese painting, the works in a style analogous to the Catalan "manner of Guimerá," whether derived from Catalonia or, with perhaps now and then some slight admixture of Italian elements, immediately from France. Among these works the primacy goes to a small retable in the little sacristy of the Capilla de los Dolores in the cathedral of Huesca because, through the signature, it may be attached to a definite name, Pedro Zuera(here written Çuera), and because in types and undulations of the drapery it is remarkably close to the Catalan manifestations of the style. In the central panel the Coronation takes place to the accompaniment of angelic music (Fig. 320). In the lateral sections the picture becomes an All Saints retable, with the categories of the blessed seated in four compartments, not standing as in Pedro Serra's renderings of the theme. The Crucifixion appears, as usual, at the apex, and the predella is assigned to the Pietà and to Sts. Michael, Luke, Mark, and Mary Magdalene. The date would lie at the turn of the fourteenth into the fifteenth century. In the predella, Pedro Zuera, who is no mere pictorial novice, gives a delightful expression to the Spanish fondness for patterning the trees against the gold.

---

[1] Another report gives the provenience as Mequinenza, northeast of Caspe, in the province of Saragossa on the border of Catalonia.

In this retable, as in the Catalan interpretations of the manner of Guimerá, we probably ought to reckon with a certain Italian overlay upon the French stylistic foundation. On the other hand, in the retable of the same period in this "manner" dedicated to St. Helen over an altar at the west end of the left aisle in the church of S. Miguel at Estella in Navarre, the inspiration seems to be wholly Gallic, although not of the old-fashioned kind which we have discussed as "Franco-Gothic" in an earlier volume and which still persisted here and there in Navarre even at the beginning of the fifteenth century. When one recalls the affection of King Charles the Noble of Navarre (1387–1425) for French and Franco-Flemish art, the character of the retable is easily explicable, and it may have been executed, not by an Aragonese artist, but by a local Navarrese master or even by a Frenchman or Fleming resident in Navarre. Nothing so thoroughly Gallic can perhaps be found within the limits of Aragon itself, and yet it must be remembered that French or Franco-Flemish painters found employment in Aragon, for instance a John and a Nicholas of Brussels under the great archbishop of Saragossa, Lope Fernández de Luna, in 1379,[1] and that their presence in the province is one of the factors that point to at least a partial derivation of the Aragonese adaptation of the Guimerá manner directly from northern Europe. The retable of St. Helen bears an inscription to the effect that it was commissioned by Martín Peris (here spelt Periz) and his wife. It is chronologically not impossible that he is identical with his homonym who is represented on the altarpiece, in the earlier and purely Franco-Gothic style, coming from the not very distant Añastro and now in the Barnard Cloisters, New York;[2] but it is ecclesiastically impossible, for,

---

[1] M. Serrano y Sanz, *Revista de archivos*, XXXV (1916), 414.

[2] See vol. II, p. 135. The date in the inscription is very difficult to read, but it is some year after 1400, probably 1406.

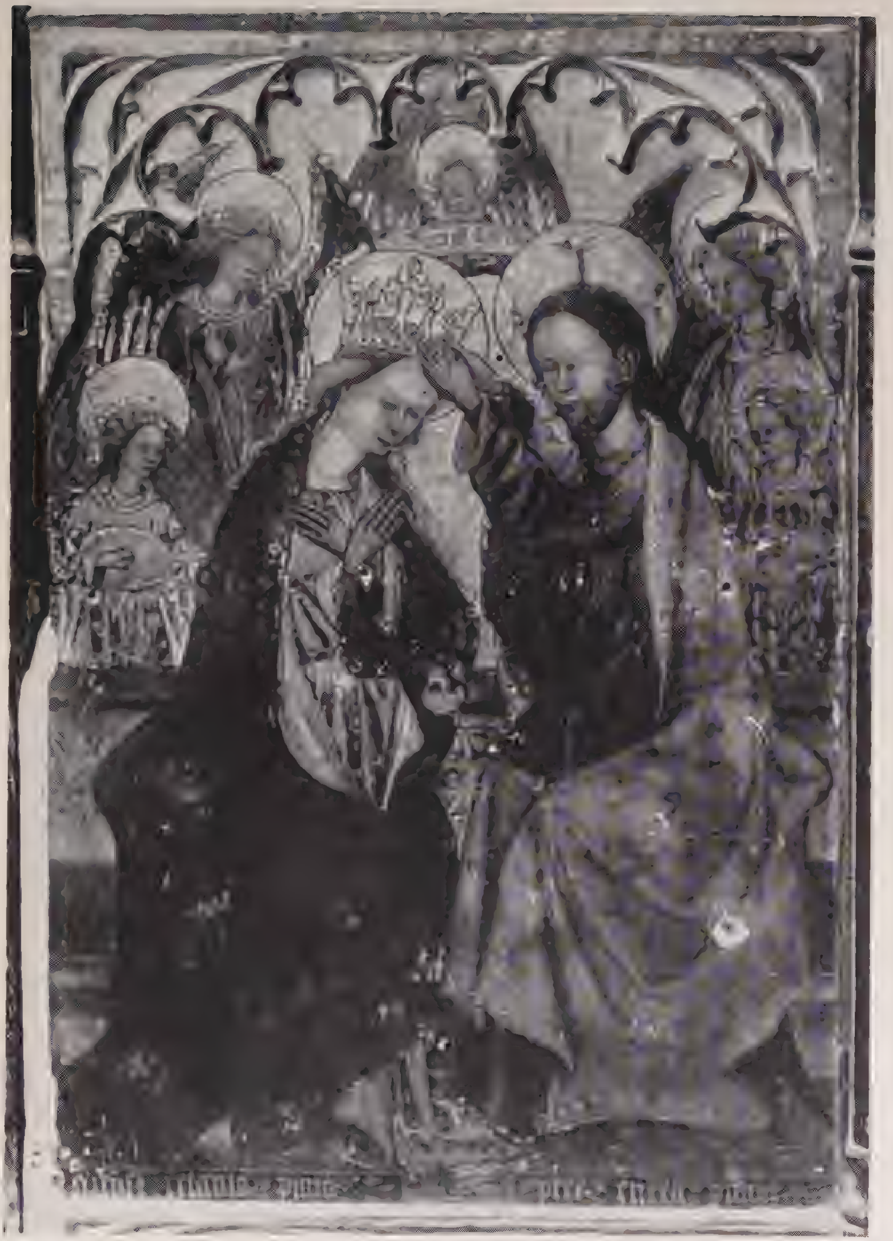

Fig. 320. PEDRO ZUERA. CORONATION, CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE. CATHEDRAL, HUESCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

if the inscription of the Añastro picture has been rightly read, the man in that monument is a priest and therefore a celibate. The donor in the central panel at the feet of St. Helen, moreover, does not seem to be the same personage depicted in the Añastro picture, but it is perhaps not safe in such matters to rely, as a criterion, upon Franco-Gothic portraiture or, despite its perspicacity in separate details, upon the general *ensemble* of the countenance in such international portraiture as that of the St. Helen altar. In this picture, moreover, the ability in portraiture is inferior to the usual international standard. The composition of the retable includes: at the centre the standing effigy of St. Helen behind whom two angels stretch one of the gorgeous fabrics that this painter affects and beneath whom are seen the dwarfed forms of the donating couple and their family (Fig. 321); seven compartments with the legend of the Holy Cross; and a predella of the Passion. The elaborate nature of the sinuosities in the draperies and the types of the majority of the angels throughout the altarpiece constitute the most obvious similarities to the manner of Guimerá; but this manner is modified by a fondness for contemporary costume even above the usual international standard and for such costume in its richest aspects. Indeed, in the headdress and crown of St. Helen, as she appears in the subordinate compartments, the magnificence reaches the point of a kind of stylization. If we turn our attention to absolute aesthetic values, the author is of quite secondary importance; and for this reason or because he actually likes anaemic types, he creates bodies and visages as of sickly paper-dolls. The merely two-dimensional existence of his forms may be explained also by a more than ordinary dependence upon illumination. The models in miniatures upon which he depends, as in the case of other Spaniards who worked in the manner of Guimerá or an analogous mode, were French or Franco-Flemish. The ground for considering the retable of St. Helen at this point rather than in the section of the book which treats the essentially Franco-Gothic group of paintings is that it embodies a phase of the French style already evolving into the international movement.

Very similar in kind to the central panel of St. Helen, though on a higher degree in the artistic scale, is a large panel, in the

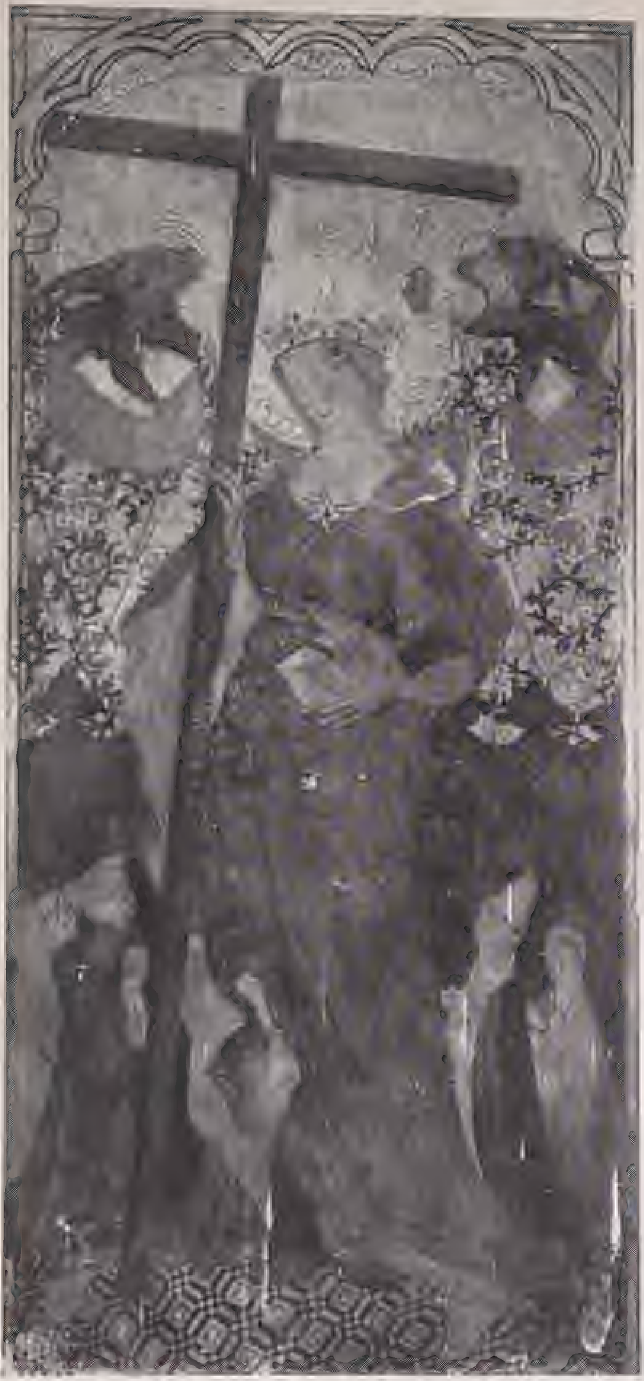

FIG. 321. CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF ST. HELEN
S. MIGUEL, ESTELLA

(Photo, Arxiu Mas)

Plandiura Collection, of the standing St. Ursula, accompanied by a diminutive kneeling donor, evidently once the middle of a retable and still retaining on the frame small effigies of Peter and Paul and two other aged saints (Fig. 322). It has usually been called Catalan, but both its reported provenience, Pamplona, and its style would align it rather in the Navarrese-Aragonese school. Greater archaeological as well as greater aesthetic interest attaches to it as compared with the St. Helen. The archaeological interest consists in the presence of a signature of a tantalizingly laconic nature, *Jacobus*[1] *me fecit.* Although the expressions of the Guimerá manner in Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon are removed from one another only by delicate shades of difference, yet there is no picture that is undoubtedly Catalan and quite like this. The closest analogue is the St. Helen of Estella, and the parallelism consists not only in the general lines of the composition, but in such details as the presence of a gorgeous, flaming red fabric spread by two angels behind St. Ursula, the wanness of the feminine type, and, above all, the well-nigh exact repetition of the highly peculiar and elaborate manipulation of the drapery. The undulation of folds that is native to the manner swells into the same long, majestic, trailing billows that, because of the better craftsmanship, elevate this figure even more than the St. Helen to the sphere of true monumentality. The successive cascades into which the drapery falls as it is caught at the different levels are nearly identical with those of Estella. Mayer aptly likens the draperies to those in the embroidered frontal of San Juan de las Abadesas in the Museum of Vich, which may be of Franco-Flemish rather than indigenous workmanship and which dates from some time immediately after 1410. The folds are similar to those of French sculpture as it was passing from the manner of the fourteenth century into the grander Burgundian modes of Claus Sluter, and both the picture and the tapestry thus witness to the accentuation of the Gallic strain in the school of Guimerá. The types, however, especially those of the knightly donor and of the very Sienese saints on the frame, would indicate that the

---

[1] The character after the *b* is usually taken as an abbreviation for *us*, but it might be simply an *o*, in which case the painter would have used his romance name, Jacobo, although the rest of the inscription is in Latin. He is not, of course, the Jacobus Ferrarii of the Nativity and Epiphany at Lérida (see vol. II, p. 338).

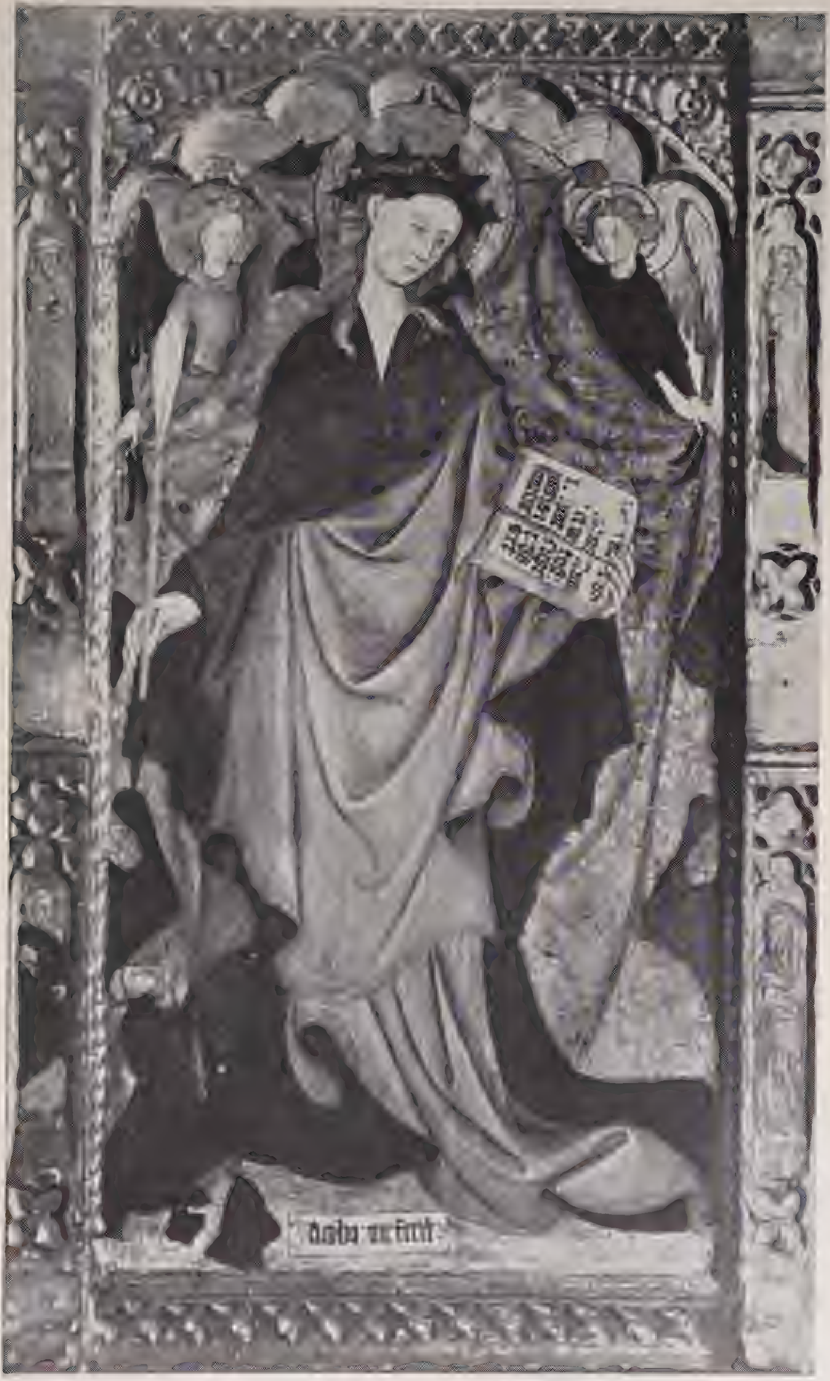

Fig. 322. "JACOBUS." ST. URSULA. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

panel of St. Ursula is earlier than the frontal and probably was not painted later than the closing years of the fourteenth century. The hand that did the Ursula panel, though related to that of Estella, does not seem to be the same. For one thing, it is more expert in draughtsmanship. But it is the hand of a man who has as great a passion for magnificence, for instance in the color scheme. St. Ursula clad in a rose mantle over a blue tunic is set against the vast red expanse of the angelically supported tapestry, brocaded with a *motif* of birds about a conventionalized ornament. The head of the Christian heroine, prettily encircled by a highly decorative wreath, vaguely suggests Valencian types; and, if ever some discovery might force an abandonment of the Aragonese theory, the next line of defence for this picture would be Valencia rather than Catalonia.

Very much the same curious arrangement of the hair (though with a crown instead of a wreath) occurs in a capably executed Madonna, No. 75 of the Bosch Collection of the Prado, reputed to have come from northern Catalonia (Fig. 323). Because he believes the piece to have been painted by an Italian, Sanpere takes one of his accustomed leaps of the imagination and assigns it to a Syracusan artist, Pietro Scaparra, who is recorded at Puigcerdá in 1446. The Child, to be sure, is more Italianate than usual; but Spanish artists, as we have often seen, continued to turn their eyes to the sister peninsula in the first half of the fifteenth century, though less intently than before, and the whole character of the panel demonstrates that it was certainly the creation of a Spanish hand. That this was the hand of Master Jacobus is not impossible. The alleged provenience stands in the way of the attribution; but the information comes from a dealer, and dealers are not always impeccable in their statements in regard to these matters. Even if the provenience is correctly set down, it is not absolutely incredible that the picture should have strayed from Aragon or Navarre to northern Catalonia. I would not contend, however, for more than the admission that the analogy in the treatment of the hair is supported by other parallelisms in type and in breadth of drapery which entitle the Bosch Madonna to be placed at least in the same stylistic group with the Plandiura St. Ursula and to be assigned to about the same date; nor would I put it beyond the

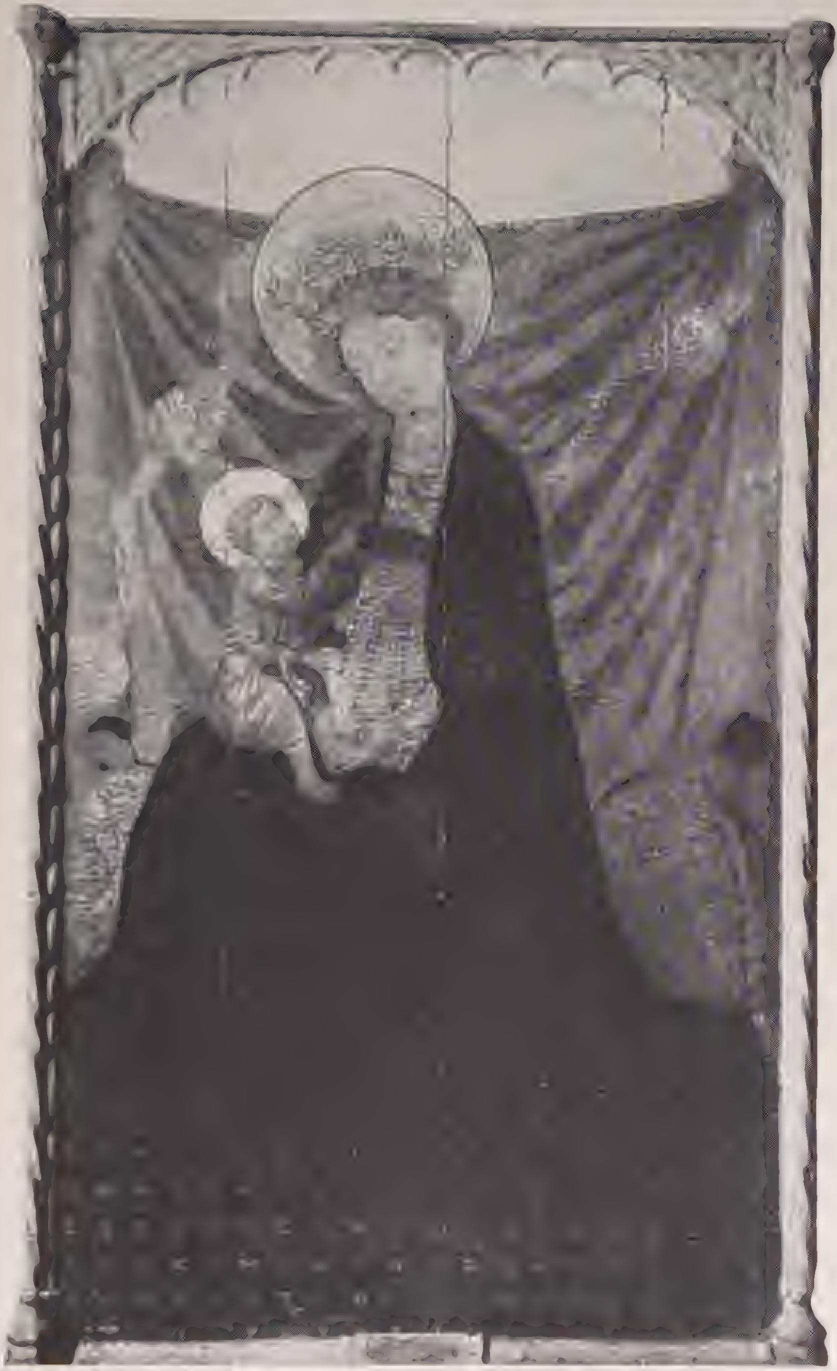

Fig. 323. MADONNA AND CHILD. PRADO, MADRID

(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

pale of probability that it is merely a Catalan manipulation of the Guimerá manner very similar to that which appears in the Navarrese examples. In the original condition of the panel, the execution would not have been unworthy of an artist of Jacobus's distinction; and if the gold had not worn off the Virgin's tunic, the cushion upon which she sits, and the fabric that hangs behind her, the picture would be as brilliant in tone as the signed work in the Plandiura Collection.

I have little hesitation in attributing to the author of the St. Helen altarpiece, or at least to a very intimately related master, a retable of St. Catherine of Alexandria in a chapel at the right of the nave in the cathedral of Tudela in Navarre. The types, especially in their anaemic quality, are virtually identical, and the passion for finically opulent costume, enhanced by gold brocades, is only somewhat less extravagant. It is indeed the painter's predilection for frail, unearthly physiques that assists in lending to the central effigy (Fig. 324) so mystical a loveliness. Yet the breadth of the drapery endows even this ethereal form with the monumentality that the Spaniards so consistently sought, and it is again the indigenous feeling that effectively conventionalizes the wheel into a large and formal background for the figure and balances the down-turned sword by the upturned palm. She is worshipped by a diminutive donor, and the sides of the retable are occupied by twelve scenes that follow the ordinary legend of her life and, as customarily, betray an execution somewhat inferior technically to that of the central panel. The Crucifixion appears in the topmost pinnacle, and the predella is devoted to seven episodes connected with the birth and infancy of Our Lord, unusual among which is the panel depicting St. Joseph's anxiety at the pregnancy of the Virgin (Fig. 325).

It is wisest to assume an attitude of neutrality towards Mayer's proposition to assign to this Tudela painter an altarpiece that has been attributed to a known artist, the vast retable, at Tarazona in Aragon, of St. Lawrence, of the patron-bishop of Tarazona, St. Prudentius, and of St. Catherine in a chapel of the ambulatory of the cathedral. The artist in question is Juan de Leví, perhaps a relative of Guillén de Leví or, since his activity may be traced from 1402 to 1407, even a

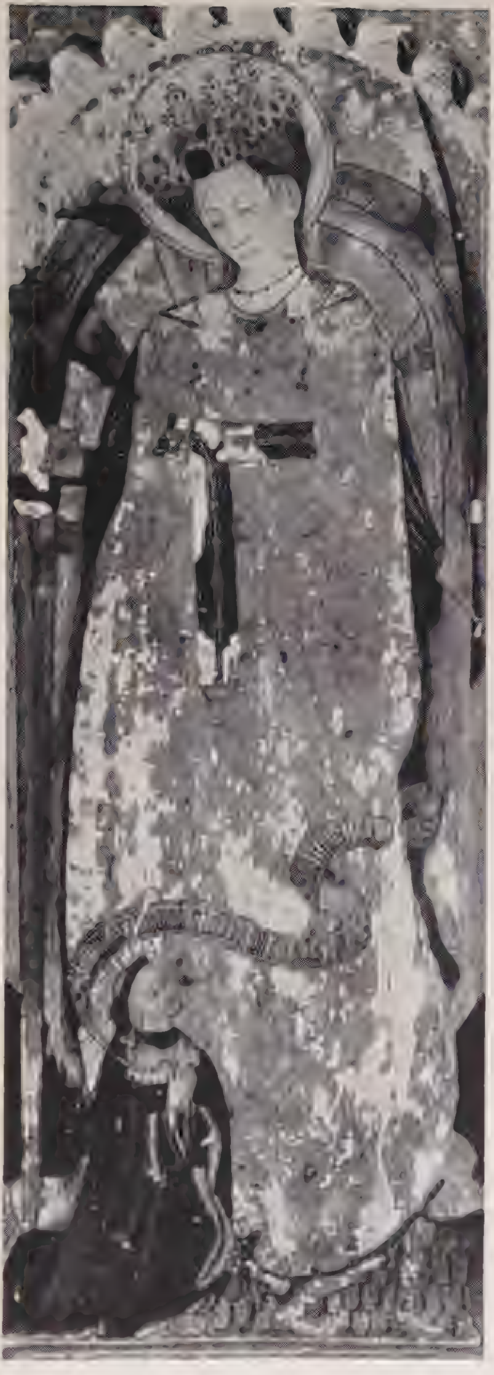

Fig. 324. CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF ST. CATHERINE. CATHEDRAL, TUDELA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

brother. The retable has been only recently and yet very generally ascribed to him. It is a disagreeable task to diminish still further the pitiably small number of mediaeval Spanish pictures that can with certainty be assigned to definite names, but it is surely the critic's duty to point out that the documentation of the Tarazona picture is far from adequate. The attribution rests upon the two following facts: (1) in a contract of 1403 for an altarpiece at Montalbán Juan de Leví is requested to use the same good pigments as in a retable "of the story of St. Catherine" that he is painting for the cardinal of Tarazona, i. e., Fernando Pérez Calvillo, who was bishop of the town from 1392 to 1404; and (2) the existing retable is found in a chapel that must have been under the peculiar patronage of the bishop since he is buried in it. The difficulties are that the contract

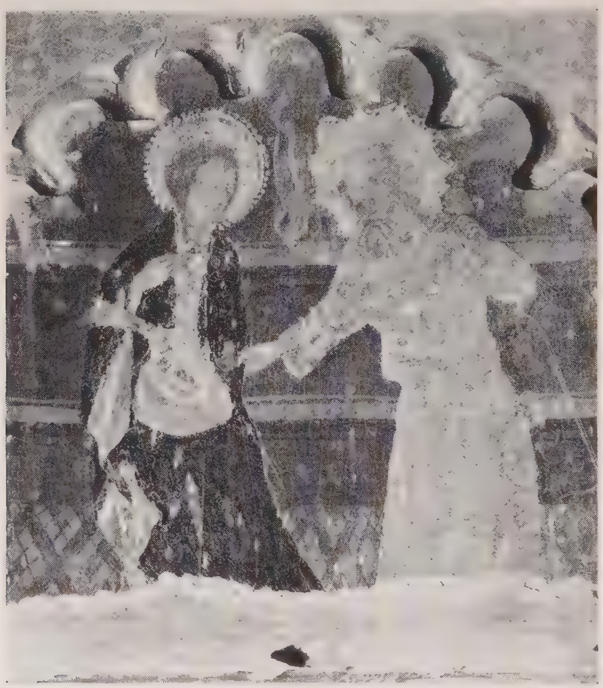

Fig. 325. VIRGIN AND ST. JOSEPH, SECTION OF PREDELLA OF ST. CATHERINE RETABLE. CATHEDRAL, TUDELA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

does not specifically state that the retable of St. Catherine is in the cathedral, so that it might have been done for the prelate's private chapel or even for some other spot, and that St. Lawrence and not St. Catherine has the place of honor at the centre of the existing retable. The structure looks, however, as if its original arrangement might have been disturbed, and it is not impossible that St. Catherine may at first have been in the middle space. Because of the prominence, even in the existing retable, of St. Catherine, who occupies the large panel at the right, it might have been loosely described as dedicated to her, but the reference may quite as well have been to one of the many other altarpieces which once must have graced the church [1] and in any one of which Calvillo may have had some special interest. On the whole, the ascription to Juan de Leví must be regarded only as somewhat likely and not as demonstrated. If the ascription is correct, then the retable should be dated about 1403, for in the contract for Montalbán it is described in the present tense as still in the process of making. In any case, the hypothesis of Juan de Leví's authorship is not sufficiently well established nor the stylistic similarity to the St. Helen retable at Estella and the St. Catherine retable at Tudela clearly enough defined to justify as yet the attachment of all three monuments to this artist's name. The large central panels at Tarazona are occupied, as has been seen, by the effigies of Sts. Prudentius, Lawrence, and Catherine, and the rest of the huge structure consists of manifold scenes from their lives. The master, whoever he was, wields his brush with skill and taste. The style in which he was trained is an aspect of the manner of Guimerá strongly influenced by Franco-Flemish miniatures of the international stamp. What are customarily conceived to be the Flemish elements in these miniatures are here more than usually pronounced, so that in places the work looks almost Teutonic; or, indeed, the possibility of the influence of German internationalism is not absolutely to be excluded. One cannot put his finger upon anything that is definitely Italian. A liberal resort is made, in the international way, to French or Burgundian costume. Among the master's personal qualities are his mode of disposing the hair and beards in Gothic curls and his fondness for juxtaposing passages of pure color. He attains the heights of his not inconsiderable capabilities in the three principal effigies, particularly in the delightful St. Catherine. If it were not for the possibility that the picture was executed in 1403, the maturity of its international style would imply a date at the beginning of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. This very maturity, indeed, constitutes an argument, however slight, against the attribution to Juan de Leví.

---

[1] The countless contracts for paintings that now have disappeared from the churches of Spain illustrate how rich must have been the pictorial embellishment even of small ecclesiastical establishments, not to speak of cathedrals.

The retable of St. Michael and the Virgin, which was once in the church of S. Miguel at Daroca but has now joined the numerous pictures from various places in the town that make the Colegiata a veritable museum, may be properly assigned to the present group of Aragonese paintings, although it exemplifies somewhat less absolutely the traits of the manner of Guimerá. It is now ensconced in a chapel at the right of the nave. The central section is occupied by a large effigy of St. Michael combating the dragon and, at a higher level, by a large representation of the Madonna seated upon a cushion and holding the Child, a composition that recalls Don Lorenzo Monaco's treament of the theme. At the left are six scenes from the legend of St. Michael and at the right as many from the life of the Virgin. The predella contains the seated figures of the four Evangelists and of Sts. Peter and Paul, and the pinnacles are reserved for the Crucifixion and four angels with instruments of the Passion. Gold is employed not only for the backgrounds, where it is patterned merely at the borders, but also for the armor of the central St. Michael and here and there in the dress of other personages. Although the types and intricately winding draperies, particularly of the saints in the predella, remain very Gothic and although the latest possible date is the beginning of the fifteenth century, yet an increase of international elements, as in the costumes, landscapes, and gay color, embodies a certain further development from the unadulterated phases of the manner of Guimerá. The style possibly incorporates also an interest in the Valencian rather than the Catalan manipulation of the manner. The pleasantest characteristic of the retable is that it once more brings us into contact with a master of true distinction.

No less unusual is the aesthetic merit of a panel of an enthroned virgin-martyr, one of the many fragments in the sacristy of the Colegiata at Daroca (Fig. 326). Although these large effigies of seated saints are all more or less conformed to the same norm, what evidence is afforded by the picture probably justifies its inclusion in the Aragonese class now under consideration. Once a part of a retable, it preserves the uprights of the frame adorned with the habitual small figures of holy personages. The lavish resort to gold, here employed for the saint's whole tunic and also for a brocaded stripe in her mantle, would suggest a date as late as the third decade of the fifteenth

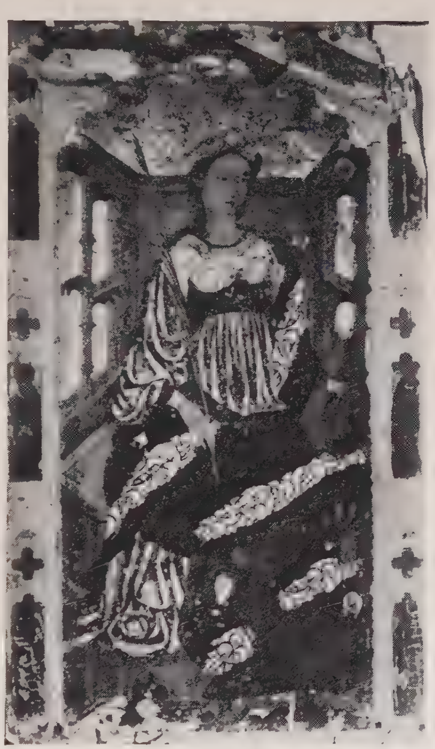

Fig. 326. VIRGIN–MARTYR.
COLEGIATA, DAROCA

(Photo. Mora)

century, although too much stress should not be laid on such a factor.

About the late date of another masterly work of this group, the retable of the high altar of the church at Pompenillo, close to Huesca, there can scarcely be a doubt. In its present condition it consists of a central effigy of St. Michael crushing the dragon (Fig. 327), flanked by two Apostles, almost as large, and of an exquisitely executed predella with scenes from the lives of the three saints. The factors that would appear to demand an assignment to the middle of the fifteenth century are the large and bold character of the foliate design in the gold backgrounds, here based on free-hand drawing rather than upon a conventionalized pattern, and the execution of this design and of the borders of the Apostles' robes in relief. One might guess that the backgrounds were a substitution for earlier and less ornate specimens; but, although the types, especially the central St. Michael with his flowing locks, and the winding draperies are of the very essence of the Guimerá manner, yet the execution of the figure of the archangel reveals a certain breadth and a certain surety of craft which imply that we have to deal in this altarpiece with a survival of the style subsequent to its apogee at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. Much the same combination of a style corresponding to the first half of the fifteenth century with an advanced treatment of the gold background occurs in the St. Michael and the dragon in the retable of the Pahería at Lérida; but despite the virtual identity of the actual pattern in the background, the two works were not executed by a single artist. The contortions of the Apostles' bodies at Pompenillo and the calligraphic swirls of their garments have the Gothic capriciousness so intimately associated with the manner of Guimerá.

4. Aragonese Paintings in the Franco-Flemish Manner

A third group in Aragonese painting may be formed of those works which are more closely related to the Franco-Flemish expression of the international movement and especially to Franco-Flemish miniatures in this style than are even the products of the manner of Guimerá. A panel depicting the Epiph-

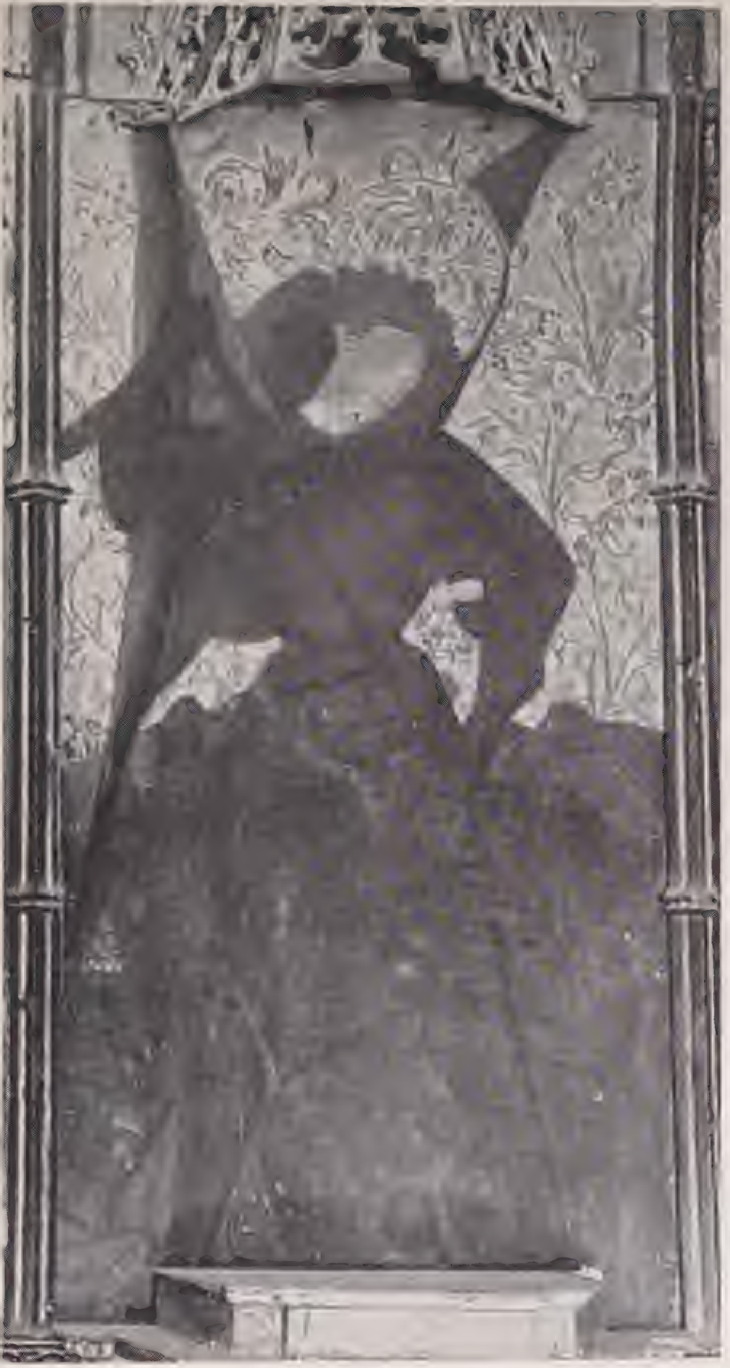

FIG. 327. ST. MICHAEL. PARISH CHURCH, POMPENILLO

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

any in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan at Madrid (Fig. 328) is so completely north-European in character that one might almost question whether it could have been painted in Spain. The frame consists of three arches, the partitions of which, however, are arranged without regard to dividing the scene into separate groups but, instead, cut several of the figures into parts. The dominating influence, as in the case of the retable ascribed to Juan de Leví at Tarazona, appears to be that of Teutonic rather than French internationalism. The types of the Virgin and the first kneeling Magus are decidedly Germanic. In the page above this Magus and in the two other Wise Men one feels that the Spanish cast of the countenances and hair is merely overlaid upon a northern foundation. The costumes of the second and third Kings have a foppish splendor which, as in the retable of St. Helen at Estella, is carried to a stylized extreme and which vies with Pisanello. The rigidity of the heavy gold of these garments must wait for Pablo Vergós's Prophets to find a parallel in Spain. The general effect of a superlative magnificence is augmented by the pompous breadth of the draperies and by the rich tonality. The masterly execution likewise places the picture above the native average. Despite the potent foreign inspiration, however, there can scarcely be a serious doubt that it was painted by a Spaniard who was roused to outdo his countrymen through contact with the generally more vital art of northern Europe; but the proofs by which an Aragonese derivation is postulated do not carry absolute conviction. One proof is a process of exclusion, for it does not seem possible to find any close analogues in the output of the other schools, i. e., the Catalan, Valencian, Castilian, or Andalusian. The nearest of kin is perhaps the altar of Tarazona, and the regions of Aragon and Navarre were most directly accessible to artistic strains entering from France, Flanders, and Germany. There is some likelihood, moreover, that the panel passed into the collection through the instrumentality of an antiquary who had devoted his energies to ransacking Aragon.[1] The character of the physical types, the woodenness of the gestures, and the simple nature of the draperies, despite

---

[1] F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Catálogo de las pinturas del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan*, p. 169.

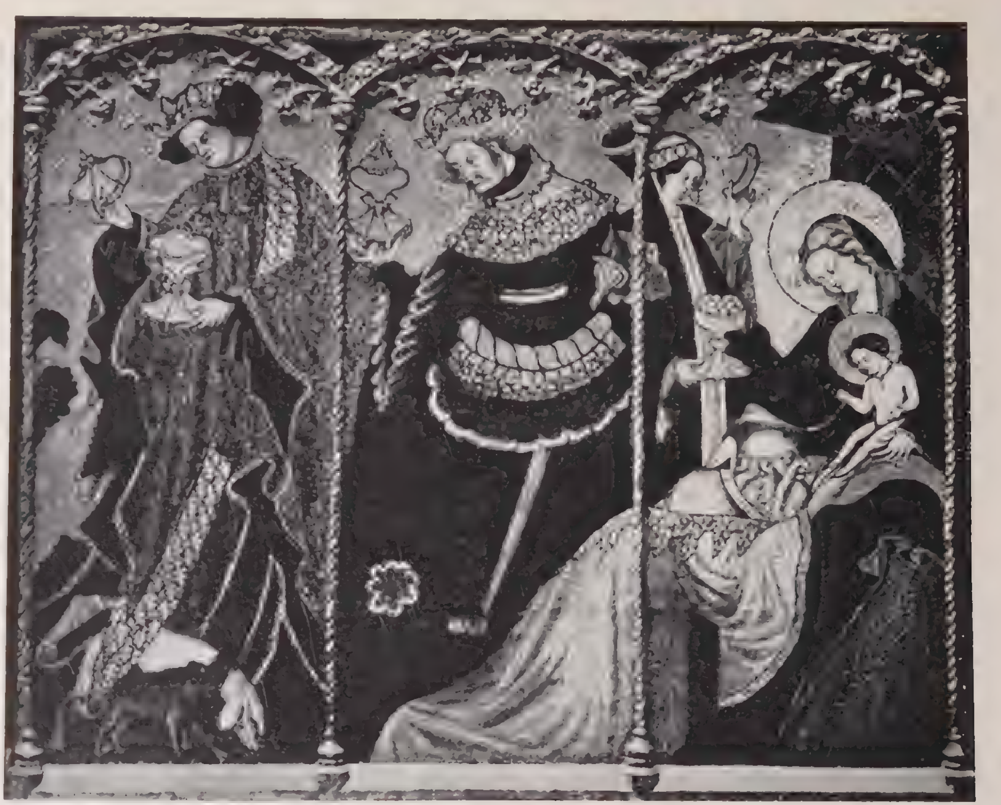

FIG. 32[illegible] ADORATION OF THE MAGI. INSTITUTO DE VALENCIA DE DON JUAN, MADRID

(From Sánchez Cantón's Catalogue of the Collection)

their majestic amplitude, would hardly permit a date later than the first years of the fifteenth century. It is interesting to discover another resemblance to Pisanello, fortuitous except in so far as both painters were members of the international movement, in the introduction of the *genre* of a dog and a pig at the feet of the third Magus.

The latest stage of Franco-Flemish internationalism, carrying us into the two decades from 1430 to 1450, is best represented by two retables which are probably the work of a single master and which constitute the Aragonese counterpart of the production of the Catalan Master of St. George and his followers. The north-European influences still play a very vital rôle, but they are here, as in the Master of St. George, purely Franco-Flemish rather than Germanic. The better known of the two pictures is the fragmentary retable of St. Michael in the Prado, which once adorned the high altar of the parish church, dedicated to the archangel, at Arguis, just north of Huesca. The whole central portion, including the large painted or sculptured effigy of St. Michael, has disappeared, but six smaller compartments, representing scenes from his legend, as well as two parts of the predella, have been preserved from the lateral sections. In the six compartments are comprised the two pinnacles, which, however, are not intact but have lost pieces from the sides and which, as the structure is now set up, are placed at the ends of the middle row of panels. One depicts the combat of angels with demons. The other displays a procession of clergy and people, but, since almost the whole right half has been cut off, it is impossible to say which of the several processions or appearances of St. Michael to bishops that figure in his legend is here meant. The appearance of St. Michael to a procession of Pope Gregory the Great is the subject of another of the panels, so that the pinnacle may embody one of the various apparitions to the bishop of Sipontum mentioned in the *Golden Legend*. Savirón, in his article on the picture, vouchsafes the opinion that it is only another stage in the procession of St. Gregory; but two panels might be quite as well assigned to the Monte Gargano episode as to this story, and in that case the pinnacle might depict the episcopal procession to the mountain after the episode of the arrow to which one of the other

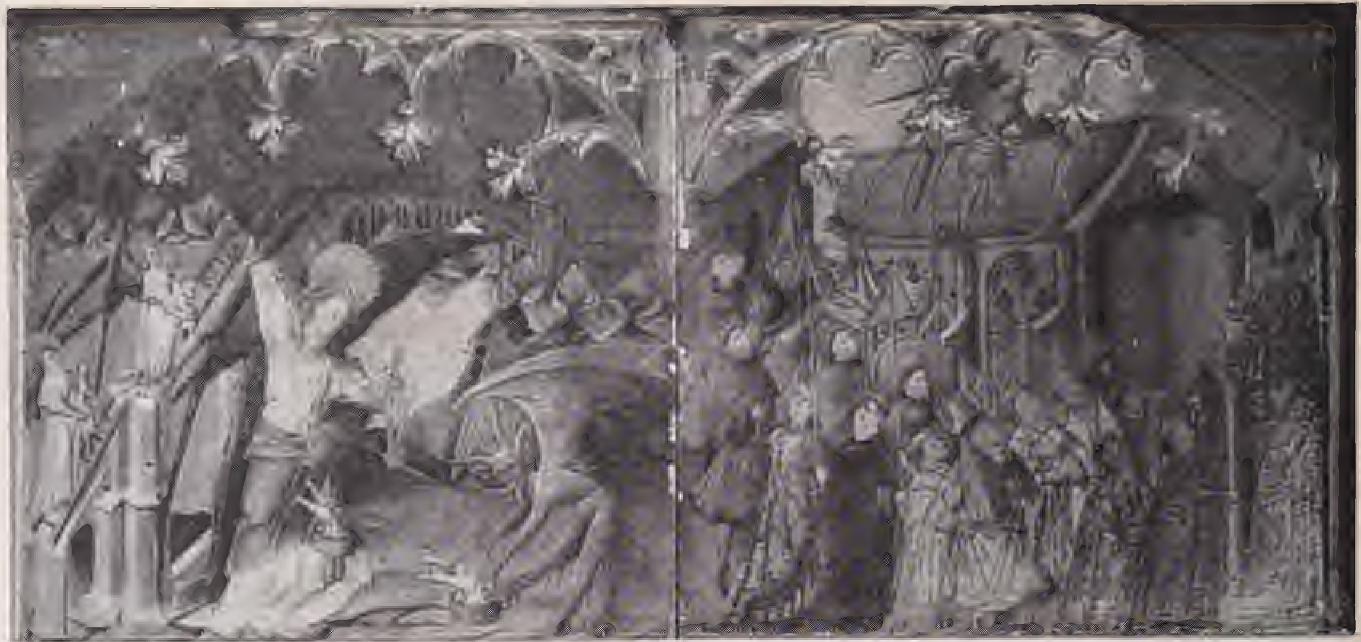

FIG. [illegible]. ST. MICHAEL WEIGHING SOULS AND APPEARING TO ST. GREGORY, SECTION OF RETABLE OF ARGUIS.
PRADO, MADRID

(Photo. Moreno)

compartments is devoted.[1] Since, if the central panel contained the customary theme of St. Michael overcoming Lucifer, three of the four victories of the archangel mentioned in the *Golden Legend* would have found a place in the retable, the pinnacle may have displayed a moment of the fourth victory, the appearance to the bishop of Sipontum in order to foretell the victory over the pagans, although this vision is stated to have occurred at night. Of the other lateral compartments, the two uppermost, in the present arrangement, represent (Fig. 329): St. Michael weighing souls in opposition to Satan while other angels guide the blessed to heaven; and Gregory and his people beholding the archangel standing upon the mole of Hadrian, forever after to be called the Castel Sant' Angelo, and wiping from his sword the blood that signifies pestilence. The two lower compartments (now in the same row with the pinnacles) embody the tale of the reflected arrow at Monte Gargano and the story of the slaying of Antichrist by St. Michael, one of the four victories and the same scene that is depicted in the Pobla de Ciérvoles altarpiece in the Museo Diocesano, Tarragona. Savirón makes a desperate guess that it represents the catastrophe of Simon Magus; but St. Michael had nothing to do with this conquest of St. Peter, and many details plainly proclaim it the discomfiture of Antichrist. One of them is the triple crown fallen to the ground. Another is the miraculous impress of Our Lord's footprints upon the rock in order to indicate that the site is the Mount of Olives from which He ascended and on which it is expressly stated that Antichrist was cast down. The footprints here have nothing to do with those stamped in the stone of Monte Gargano in the legend of St. Michael's apparition at this spot, and they are frequently introduced into the iconography of the Ascension. The two lateral sections of the predella that have been preserved (and, if the central effigy was a statue, there may have been no other part of the predella) contain six small seated effigies of Sts. Paul, Catherine, Lawrence, Vincent, Barbara, and Peter. The gold backgrounds are undiapered, but frequent resort is made to gold throughout the retable for accenting the garments.

---

[1] Tormo (*Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XVII, 1908, p. 67) so interprets it.

The Franco-Flemish current that runs through the retable imbues it with a character as closely analogous to that of the Catalan Master of St. George as is possible in two similarly caused but not necessarily interrelated phenomena. The types are often what one meets in contemporary Franco-Flemish illuminations, particularly the St. Michael engaged in weighing and the St. Catherine of the predella. The narrative scenes betray an even more inordinate fondness than we find in the Master of St. George for the freakish Burgundian costumes and exaggerated hats. The draperies, especially when they are whitish (as, for instance, in the compartment of the weighing, those of St. Michael and of the angels guiding souls), reveal the increased introduction of delicate chiaroscuro which bespeaks at least some slight knowledge of the already unfolding achievement of the Van Eycks and of the school of Tournai and which can be traced likewise in such productions of the circle of the Master of St. George as the Magdalene retable of the Museum at Vich. Nevertheless, the Aragonese atmosphere is proclaimed by the rougher types and by a harshness in the draperies that is concentrated, as is particularly demonstrated by the saints of the predella, in the sharply broken and angular rather than sinuous lines of the folds. The author of the Arguis retable delights in a more decided and more conscious practice of stylization in every aspect of his art than the Master of St. George and his followers. In the scenes of the weighing, of the "war in heaven," and of the fall of Antichrist, the clouds are so highly schematized into a series of repeated swirls that one is almost left in a quandary as to whether in reality they might not rather be meant to represent arbitrarily flung pieces of decorative drapery. But this sort of conventionalization of clouds has a long history in Spanish painting and may be traced back to the Romanesque period. It manifests itself in a similar extreme form, though not with an absolutely identical pattern, in the Catalan altarpiece of Guimerá. The stylization of the landscape reminds us, as often in Catalan, Valencian, and Aragonese art, of Sassetta; here the hills are frequently schematized into rounded mounds like beehives. The compositions of the combat of angels and devils and of the fall of Antichrist are pulled into the formal designs so dear to Spanish mediaeval taste. The garments of the saints in the predella are perfunctorily expanded for the purpose of creating triangular masses the better to fill the spaces; and the bodies of the two holy deacons are contorted in the mode of the draperies. In harmony with the spirited temper of the postures and gesticulation, the color is heightened to a gaiety beyond that of nature, and the master even dares to paint some of the rocks in his backgrounds rose for the sake of maintaining everywhere the same brightness. The general effect of brilliancy is augmented by the conspicuous brocades.

Certain elements in the Arguis retable seem to indicate that this later aspect of Franco-Flemish internationalism was partially an outgrowth from the earlier style which in Aragon corresponds to the Catalan "manner of Guimerá" and which itself was more indebted to the art of France than was the production of the Serras. The similar stylization of clouds has already been mentioned. The types of some of the angels also recall those of the manner of Guimerá, but the real resemblance is a more subtle one, an affinity in mood, provoking a nervous and temperamental agitation of forms and draperies. It is doubtless because of the emotionalism and the harshness of the types that Mayer strangely tends to connect the picture with the school of Valencia. The *genre* is everywhere of the most bewitching international sort, as in the souls conducted to Paradise on ladders or in the terror-stricken gestures of the mortals in the scales of the balance. The expression of horrified grief is rendered with surprising success in the attendant who holds the quiver in the Monte Gargano scene. In the hair of Antichrist, as he is precipitated, the artist makes an ostentatious show of his knowledge of the law of gravity. The date of the work would probably lie in the region of 1440. The impression of mastery with which it leaves the observer comes not so much from the draughtsmanship, which is not of very high quality, as from the harmony of flashing color and the general *verve* with which the figures and scenes are conceived.

The small and lovely retable of St. Anne, now in the sacristy of the Colegiata at Alquézar, northwest of Barbastro, in the province of Huesca, but once in the cloister, is either an earlier work of this hand or the production of some member of the

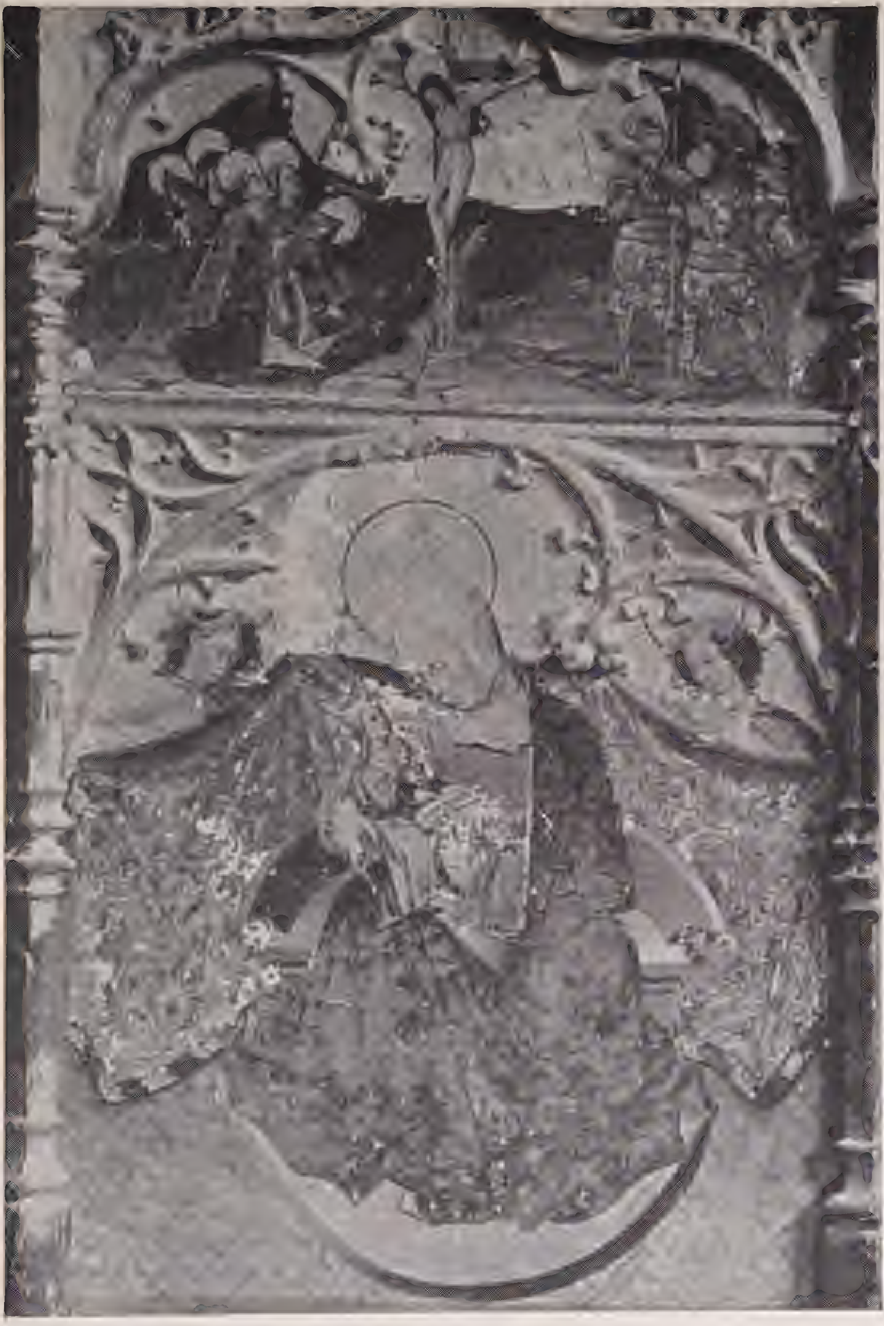

Fig. 330. CENTRAL PANEL OF RETABLE OF ST. ANNE. COLEGIATA, ALQUÉZAR

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

same circle, almost indistinguishable from the master of Arguis. The central panel is occupied by an effigy of St. Anne holding the young Virgin without the infant Christ and seated on a simple throne behind which two angels spread a tapestry (Fig. 330). The Crucifixion takes its usual place above, and the lateral sections consist of eight episodes from the life of St. Anne, among which only her marriage with St. Joachim is an unusual theme. The predella comprises a central Pietà flanked by six seated saints in separate compartments. The points of contact with the Arguis altarpiece are so numerous as almost to defy cataloguing: the physical structure of the countenances; the types of the angels, which should be compared with those fighting the demons, especially in the dishevelled curls of their locks; the quaint backward tilt of the Sts. Lawrence and Vincent of Arguis repeated in many figures at Alquézar, for instance in the foremost woman supporting the Virgin at the Crucifixion; the striking parallelism of the saints in the predellas of both pictures in the contortions of the body and in the artificial expanses of draperies (although at Alquézar the backgrounds are of landscape); the crisply broken folds of the garments; the Burgundian costumes, not yet introduced, however, in such abundance as at Arguis; the conventionalization of some of the hills into round excrescences; and the augmented use of light and shade for modelling. The emotional tone of the master of Arguis is also present, for instance in the St. Anne in the scene of her annunciation. The nearness of the town of Alquézar to Arguis also has some weight as an argument. The small size of the narrative panels successfully encouraged the painter to attain the delightful delicacy of the Franco-Flemish models in miniatures.

The justifications for including at this point a small but distinguished triptych that has entered the Museum at Lisbon from the Guerra Junqueiro Collection are that it is obviously a Spanish international work of *c.* 1430–1450 under Franco-Flemish influence and that, on the whole, it looks as if it had been painted in Aragon. The centre contains the Deposition; the left wing, Sts. Catherine and Christopher; and the right wing, St. Anthony and an unidentified feminine saint.[1] Although the color has a warmth like that of Dello Delli, Castile may be with some security excluded as the place of provenience, and likewise Valencia and Andalusia. The Catalan alternative has more to be said in its favor, but the balance of probability inclines toward Aragon. The types, especially of the women at the foot of the cross, already appear somewhat Flemish, either because the artist had at least a slight familiarity with the nascent school of Belgium or because he admired Hispano-Flemish sculpture. As in the case of the author of the St. Anne altar at Alquézar and of so many other international painters, his delicate hand seems to have been trained in the craft of illumination. He has given full rein to all his skill in the lovely, ample Gothic draperies of the two feminine saints.

---

[1] The label of the Museum calls her the Magdalene; but the palm of a martyr is at variance with such an interpretation, and what looks like a box of ointment as an attri-

A certain number of works which belong to the opening years of the fifteenth century and in which the Franco-Flemish strain is less obvious it is hard to describe in any more definite terms than as examples of the universal and average international style. Such a classification, like so many other roads in mediaeval Aragonese painting, leads us back once more to the collection of pictures in the Colegiata at Daroca. We have already had occasion to discuss the conglomerate retable the lateral sections of which consist, in part, of narrative scenes imported from the Franco-Gothic altarpiece of St. Peter that now stands opposite to it in the same chapel. The central section of the conglomerate retable may be assigned to this generalized international style — a panel of an enthroned episcopal saint, above it the Crucifixion, and beneath it representations of worshippers at the canonized bishop's tomb and of a saint (the same bishop?) in ecstasy. Bits of still a third, if not also a fourth, altarpiece appear to be built into the structure.

In the same vaguely defined group may be included a picture in the sacristy of the Colegiata, consisting of three large figures of Sts. Barbara, Barnabas, and Apollonia.

But Daroca is by no means the only great Aragonese storehouse of mediaeval painting. We shall not have to travel far from Daroca to find another, the village of Maluenda, just south of Calatayud. Among the multitude of retables and fragments

---

bute may in reality be a receptacle for displaying the eyes of St. Lucy or the breasts of St. Agatha.

of retables gathered in the two churches of Santa María and of Santas Justa y Rufina, the partial remains of an altarpiece of St. Andrew, now relegated to the raised choir at the entrance to the former edifice, can receive no more exact classification than the present comprehensive subdivision of Aragonese painting (Fig. 331). Besides the central effigy of the saint, there are left two large lateral panels with figures of the angels Sts. Michael and Gabriel and a capping Crucifixion. The landscape settings are of a rather developed character, and the mediocre, countrified technique that attaches in some degree to all of the paintings at Maluenda may account for the archaic look of the figures, which would naturally date them at the very beginning of the fifteenth century but which may really be due to the retrogressive efforts of a craftsman working about 1425 or even later. The somewhat light and delicate tonality, however, is indicative of the earlier stages of Aragonese international painting, which in the second quarter of the century became often heavier in color. A rustic work of this sort exhibits more tangibly the impress of the rather stolid Aragonese ethnic type.

Search for members of this nondescript group takes us also into a somewhat unusual field for the art of the fifteenth century in Spain — fresco. The walls of the vestibule before the old oratory in the monastery of Piedra, which has already yielded to our survey the polychrome reliquary now in the Academy of History, Madrid, retain fragments of mural paintings some of which belong to the Aragonese international style of the early fifteenth century. Directly over the door of the oratory the Madonna is depicted as enthroned between two monks, who, since the institution was Cistercian, are probably Sts. Benedict and Bernard. The architecture of the throne and the large shell ornament that covers it are of the Renaissance, and the figure-painting also looks like poor work of the sixteenth century; but it possibly embodies a retouching of an earlier production, for the two small, music-making angels that stand within the shell above the centre of the throne may be fairly intact relics of the more primitive stratum. The Virgin and saints are flanked by two faded compositions that are certainly international performances of the late fourteenth or early

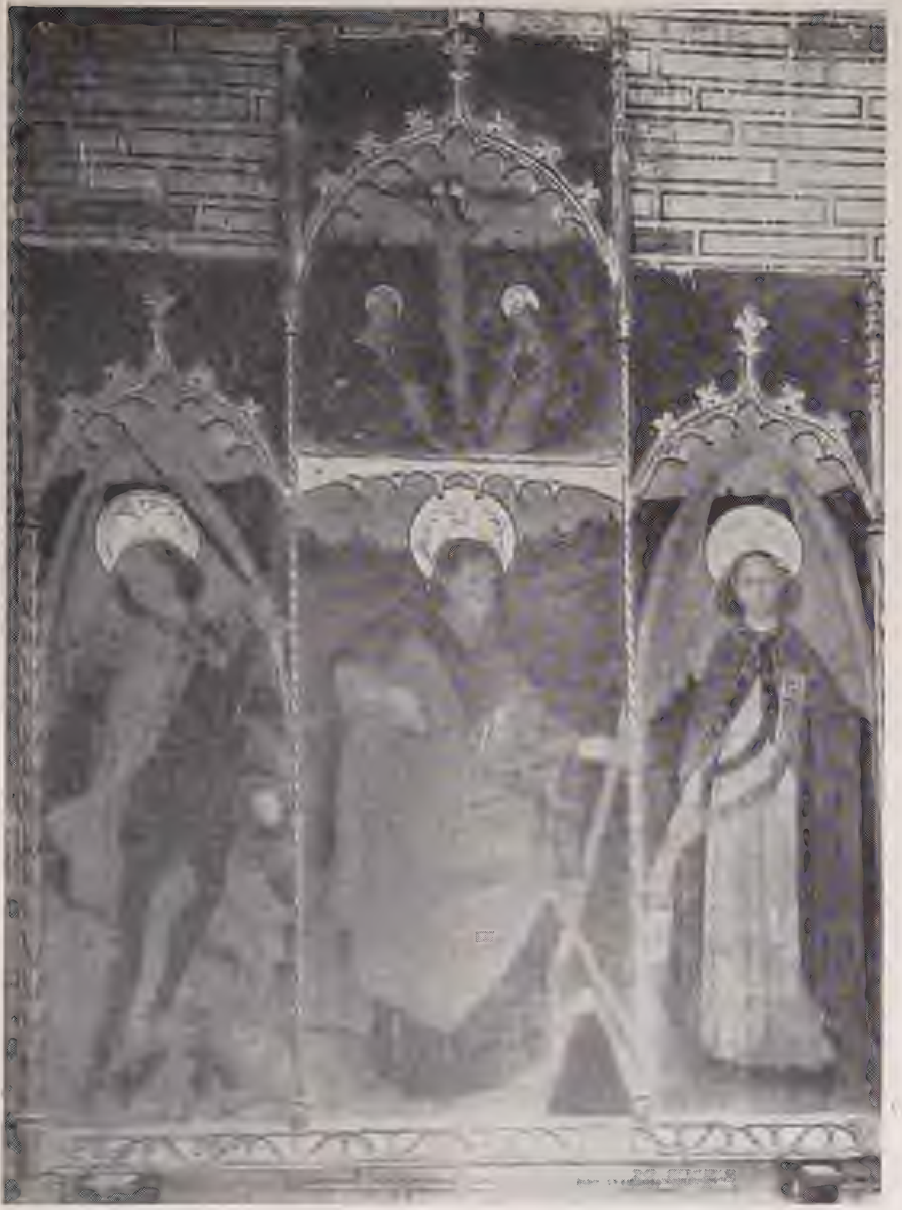

Fig. 331. RETABLE OF ST. ANDREW. STA. MARÍA, MALUENDA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

fifteenth century, at the left St. George's fight against the dragon in the presence of the princess and her lamb, at the right the subject that has often in Christian art constituted a pendant to the horseman St. George, the mounted St. Martin bestowing his cloak upon the beggar. In order to fill his spaces, the painter has caused the draperies of the two saints to fly forth in decorative expanses. The nude of the beggar is fairly well rendered. To the same period but not necessarily to the same hand belong a few vestiges in fresco over another door in this vestibule — the heads of the Saviour, St. Matthew, and (?) St. John and, even further erased, the personification of Death in the form of a skeleton. The removal of the rest of the whitewash from this wall would probably reveal other remains of mural decoration.

A later international work of about 1430–1450 that it is hard to classify very definitely is the large panel of an episcopal saint in a chapel at the left of the east end of the cathedral of Saragossa, perhaps, since he holds a miniature church as an attribute, to be identified with St. Valerius, the patron bishop of the city. The craftsmanship is not of a very high order, but the picture has the interest of an attempt to paint the embroidered scenes on the orphreys of the cope. Since the style of such figures did not alter much in the next fifty years and since the poor light renders it difficult to make out clearly the precise manner of the narrative episodes on the cope, it is possible that the panel should rather have been relegated to a later volume as belonging to the second half of the fifteenth century.

With much hesitancy there may be set down as an Aragonese work of the second quarter of the fifteenth century in the generalized international manner the five extant panels of a retable of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine formerly in the collection of Don Álvaro de Retana at Madrid and last seen by me in the possession of the Linares firm in that city.[1] The panels consist of the central section with the two effigies and with six smaller sacred figures on the uprights and of four lateral pieces depicting the decollation of St. John, the presentation of his head by Salome, St. Catherine amidst the wheels, and her decapitation (Fig. 332). The reasons for the hesitancy are manifold. In the first place, so far as the style goes, the altarpiece

---

[1] See Appendix.

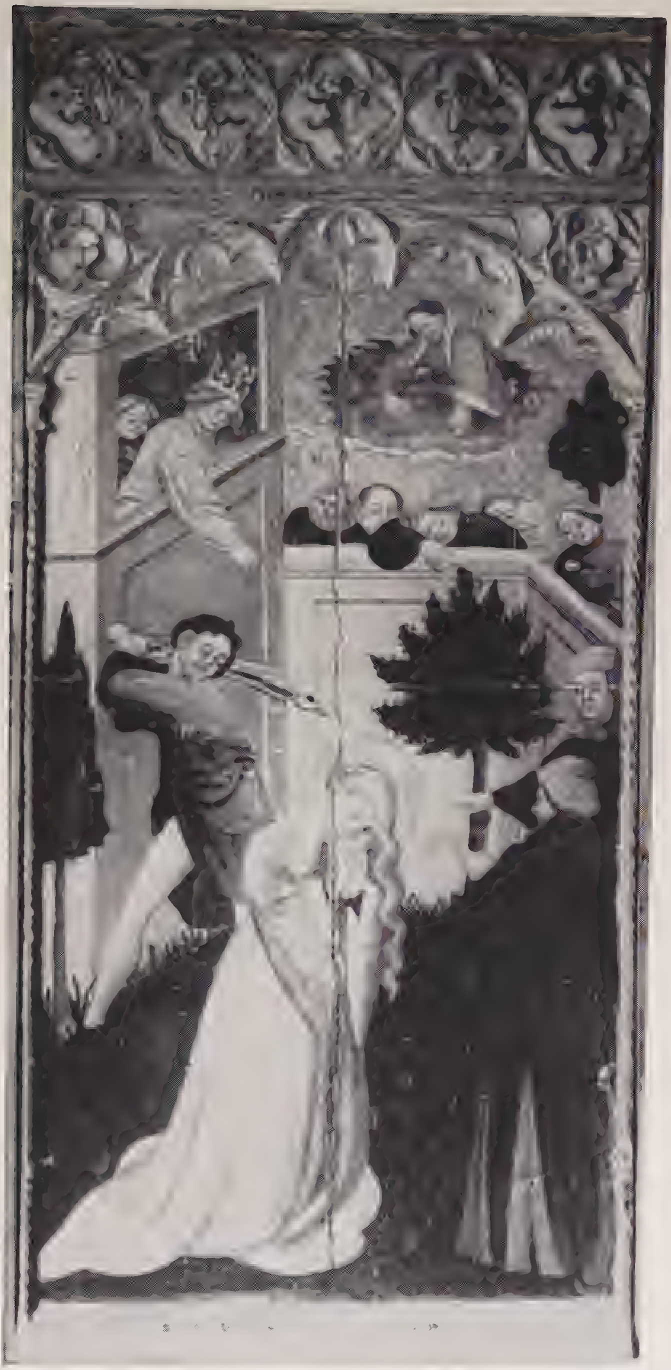

Fig. 332. DECAPITATION OF ST. CATHERINE, SECTION OF RETABLE. LINARES COLLECTION, MADRID

might belong to almost any school of the peninsula. The western kingdom has nothing to show exactly similar to it, especially when one takes into account the central panel; and yet the lateral compartments, in which the scenes are treated, in the spirit of international *genre*, like jaunty episodes from contemporary life, might have been painted by some artist of Castile or Leon distantly conversant with the productions of Dello Delli or Nicolás Francés or their workshops, and the central panel, with the rather Italo-Gothic draperies of the Baptist and of some of the saints on the frame, is not absolutely inconceivable as having emanated from this *milieu*. Ramón Gil, indeed, in his Catalogue of the Retana Collection, assigns the retable to the school of Castile, partly on the strength of the heraldry which will concern us subsequently. Mayer, on the other hand, proposes the circle of Borrassá as its pigeon-hole. It is hard to see much of Borrassá except perhaps in the above-mentioned draperies and in the type of Christ as He appears to St. Catherine in the two scenes of her martyrdom; but a Catalan provenience is by no means out of the question, although in that case the altarpiece should rather be connected with such partially analogous works as the Leverhulme series of St. Ursula and the Johnson predella. Even a Valencian hypothesis would not be an absurdity. In the face of such perplexity, the principal ground, in this book, for aligning the retable with the Aragonese school has been a tradition that the picture was found in a church near Calatayud. No one realizes better than the present writer how untrustworthy such mere traditions are, when they are backed by no definite evidence and when their source is not known; nevertheless, there is a vague something about the panels that would not disaccord with execution by an Aragonese hand. Perhaps it is that, like many an Aragonese production, they resemble Catalan things and yet are not quite Catalan. Perhaps it is that the writer, having lived much with Aragonese art, dares to trust to a mere feeling that they have something Aragonese in them which he would be at pains to analyze were he called up before a tribunal. A possibly Aragonese analogue to the lateral sections, however distant, would be the Epiphany in the Valencia de Don Juan Collection at Madrid.

A further reason for hesitating to accept the Aragonese theory is the heraldry, the escutcheon with the castles and lions of Castile and Leon on the central panel and the emblems of lions that, in a series, frame each lateral panel at the top. But it is not out of the question that the symbols of Castile and Leon should have been used in Aragon on a retable painted during the rule of Alfonso V (1416–1458), for the new dynasty that had begun with his father, Ferdinand the Just, was of royal Castilian origin. Certainly these symbols were introduced from one end to the other of the roof of the cathedral of Teruel in Aragon, which may have been painted as late as the reign of Alfonso V and appears surely not to have been executed before the reign of his father who, having been a Castilian prince prior to his accession, might have been more likely to employ them. It is even within the realm of possibility that the altarpiece dates back as early as the days of Ferdinand.

The author, from whatever region of Spain he came, was more distinguished as a painter of the monumental forms of the central panel than as a narrator in the lateral compartments. The stories are told in a clear and straightforward way but without piquancy. The large Sts. John and Catherine, however, and the small sacred effigies on the frame are marked by a tranquil and impressive majesty. Were it not known that the central piece and the sides belonged together, one would perhaps not have guessed their connection; but once informed, the student can discover many stylistic parallelisms and no greater discrepancy than is often encountered between the sections of mediaeval Spanish retables.

5. The Castilian Influence

It is with some hesitation that I make another category, in Aragonese painting, of two works that seem to reveal some influence of the Italianate aspects of the international style prevalent in the adjacent province of Castile to counterbalance the more numerous productions affected by the achievements of the contiguous province on the other side, Catalonia. The hesitation is due to the uncertainty as to whether the apparent Italo-Castilian qualities may not rather be merely an independent and spontaneous relaxation and mollification of the

Franco-Flemish manner so popular in Aragon, or as to whether the Italianate qualities may not be disguised importations from Catalonia; but the resemblances to the contemporary Castilian style are in some respects so marked that the westerly derivation is the more likely solution. One of the works in question, at Belchite, south of Saragossa, since it was shown in the Exposition of 1908 at Saragossa, has received some attention, principally from Bertaux in his Catalogue of the Exposition. The monument consists of eight panels on the inner sides of the wings of a triptych, the central portion of which once enshrined a statue of the Madonna. They are now disgracefully relegated to a position under a stairway in the pilgrimage church of the Santuario del Pueyo, close to Belchite. The four panels of the left wing comprise the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and the kneeling portrait of a young masculine donor; those of the right represent the Epiphany, Presentation, Circumcision, and another knightly donor whose head is largely hidden in a helmet. An inscription on the back of the wings names the two personages Pascual and Pedro Bernat, and gives the year, 1439. The date is probably late enough for the author to have known the form of Gentile da Fabriano's interpretation of internationalism that Dello Delli was displaying to the admiring eyes of the Castilians, and the more one looks at the panels the more one is convinced that he is trying, honestly but not brilliantly, to imitate the foreign manner. The forms, draperies, and compositions suggest in certain ways the twelve small scenes from the life of the Virgin, Nos. 1280, 1281, 1282, and 1283 in the Louvre, executed by a far superior hand which, whosesoever the pundits in Italian art eventually decide it was, certainly belonged to an artist who had intimate affinities with Gentile; and here and there in the Belchite panels one is instinctively reminded of Dello's great retable at Salamanca. Yet it is necessary only to look at the conventional frontality with which the figure of the brocade on the foremost Wise Man is presented to realize that we have to do with a Spaniard, and his technique reaches no higher level than that of a talented provincial. The type of the Virgin in the Annunciation and Visitation and of Gabriel in the former episode and the occasional Burgundian costumes prove either his familiarity also with contemporary Franco-Flemish art or the community of all manifestations of the international style.

The idea of Italianism emanating into Aragon from Catalonia may be scouted with less surety in the case of the second monument, a well preserved but disassembled retable of St. James Major the parts of which are scattered through the church of Sta. María at Maluenda. The central panel with the large effigy of the Apostle, in which the painter surpasses his otherwise mediocre attainment, is now built into a later altar in the southeast corner of the church. Six smaller compartments from the lateral sections, containing as many scenes from his legend, have been used to make an altarpiece about a great wooden figure of the Crucified in a chapel on the north side of the nave. A Crucifixion in the sacristy and a predella of the Passion in the vestibule of the sacristy also belong in all probability to the altarpiece of St. James. One of the difficulties in discerning Italo-Castilian influence is that the altarpiece looks as if it had been painted in the first years of the fifteenth century, earlier than the Belchite triptych and therefore possibly too early to have undergone the inspiration of Dello Delli's sojourn in Spain, the beginning of which cannot possibily be set before 1433. The style certainly resembles in places the manner of those Castilian masters, such as the still later Nicolás Francés, who were in some way connected with the Italian aspects of internationalism that Dello established at Salamanca, and the color has the Gothic warmth of Gentile da Fabriano. Perhaps the altarpiece is in reality a work of the forties, the archaisms of which are to be ascribed to provincialism, and there are some incongruously late elements, such as the costume of St. James's judge; or the Italianism may derive from the earlier stratum introduced into Castile by Starnina. Yet another alternative would be to interpret the Italianism as a Catalan strain superimposed upon the Franco-Flemish style. There are other factors, indeed, besides the Burgundian costumes, as of St. James's judge, that seem purely Franco-Flemish. The elongated, emaciated Christ of the Crucifixion and the distorted body of Christ on His Mother's lap in the Pietà of the predella possess, to say the least, the extravagant spirit of the retable of Arguis. Finally, it is not out of the question, though hardly probable, that the effect of Italian influence is due merely to the personal qualities of a painter who had no further training than the Franco-Flemish school.

The Annunciation that used to bear the number 1288ª in the Prado but is at present withdrawn from exhibition is a modern forgery which attempts to reproduce, in part, the manner of Fra Angelico. Mayer[1] states that the forger perpetrated his falsifications upon panels retaining the ruins of old pictures. If this is the case in the present instance, it is just possible that the removal of the modern handiwork would still reveal Italianate influence of some sort, although, of course, not that of Fra Angelico, who, so far as I know, found no imitators in the Spanish peninsula. The picture was reported to have come from Villanueva del Huerva, west of Belchite: if such is the real provenience of the hypothetical original battered panel and if this panel did betray any debt to Italy, it might conceivably fall into the same group with the paintings at Belchite and Maluenda, from neither of which is Villanueva far distant. I know only through Mayer's illustration the forgery which is almost a replica of the Prado specimen and which he records as in the hands of a New York dealer, labelled with a humorous attribution to a Juan de Burgos, probably intended to be the artist of the school of Nicolás Francés who signed the Annunciation now in the Fogg Museum at Harvard.

6. The Indigenous Group

We come finally and climactically to the group of pictures upon which the Aragonese stamp is most profoundly impressed and which emanate as truly from the very marrow of the Aragonese aesthetic temperament as the production of the Serras and of Borrassá issues from the heart of Catalonia. Virtually immune from Catalan, Valencian, or Castilian influences and dating from *c.* 1435 to *c.* 1450, they embody a transmutation of the Franco-Flemish international strain into a thoroughly indigenous expression. The Aragonese feeling in these paintings is centred in a general tendency to greater solidity and heaviness that affects almost all aspects of the pictorial art,

---

[1] *Belvedere*, V (1924), section called the *Forum*, p. 77.

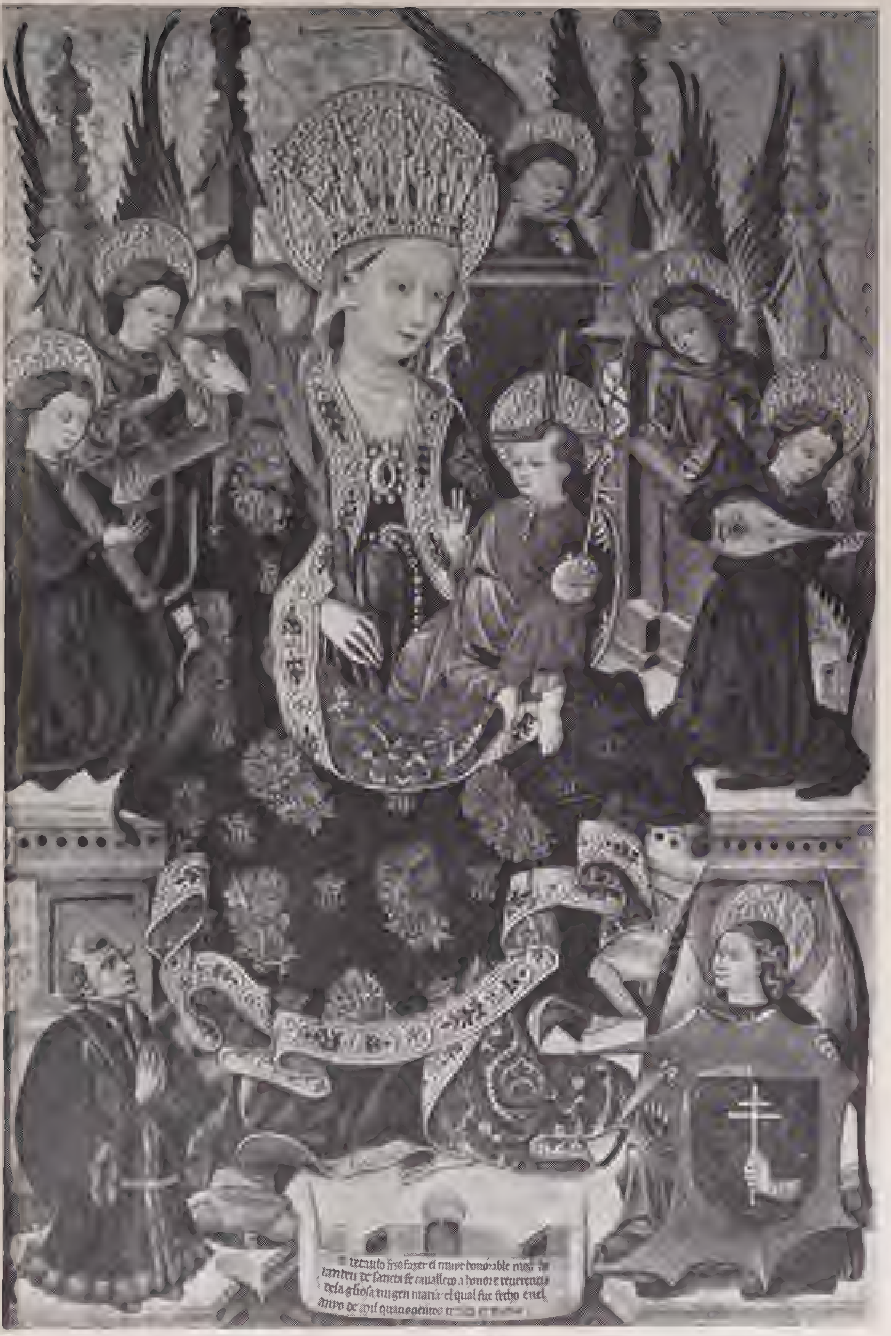
retaulo fizo fazer el muy honorable mos
tanteu de sancta fe cavallero a honore reuerencia
dela gliosa uirgen maria el qual fue fecho enel
anyo de .mil quan

FIG. 333. MADONNA AND ANGELS. LÁZARO COLLECTION, MADRID

(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

substituting more substantial forms for the usually emaciated figures of the international style, addicted to more fulsome Gothic draperies, revelling in a more ponderous overlay of gold ornament made more prominent by embossing, and inclining towards less light and ethereal tonalities. The physical types are blunter, less idealized, less conventionally pretty than those of contemporary art in the rest of Spain.

The most characteristic products of the group are a series of seated Madonnas, all very much alike in composition. Our Lady, with the Child, sits upon a great throne, the architecture of which, usually with spreading sides, constitutes a large and important part of the composition; and round about and through apertures in the ordinance of the throne peer angels with musical instruments. Much the same composition was popular in the other schools of the peninsula, but it was appropriated by the Aragonese as a special vehicle for incorporating their local aesthetic traits. Two of these panels of enthroned Madonnas, both probably once the centres of retables, are practical repetitions of each other and were undoubtedly executed by the same hand, one coming from Tarazona and now in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid, the other from Albalate del Arzobispo (south of Saragossa) and now in the Museum of Saragossa.[1] At the lower left of the Lázaro picture (Fig. 333) kneels the donor, rendered with labored international realism, and as his pendant on the right is an angel with his escutcheon. He is identified as Sperandeo de Santa Fe by an inscription at the bottom of the panel, which also states the date, 1439, the same as that of the Belchite triptych. All the tokens of the characteristically Aragonese style are present in their most essential expression, the types that the Germans would describe by the adjective *derb*, the broad and stately spread of undulating Gothic drapery on the Virgin, the effect of heavy splendor accented by a brocaded pattern on her mantle larger and more ostentatious than was the general custom in other schools (although the *motifs* of the pattern are now foreshortened with approximate correctness in contrast to the frequent conventionally frontal presentation that we have often encountered), and the final touches in magnificence added by the bold design of the gold background and by the embossing of haloes, crown,

---

[1] See Appendix.

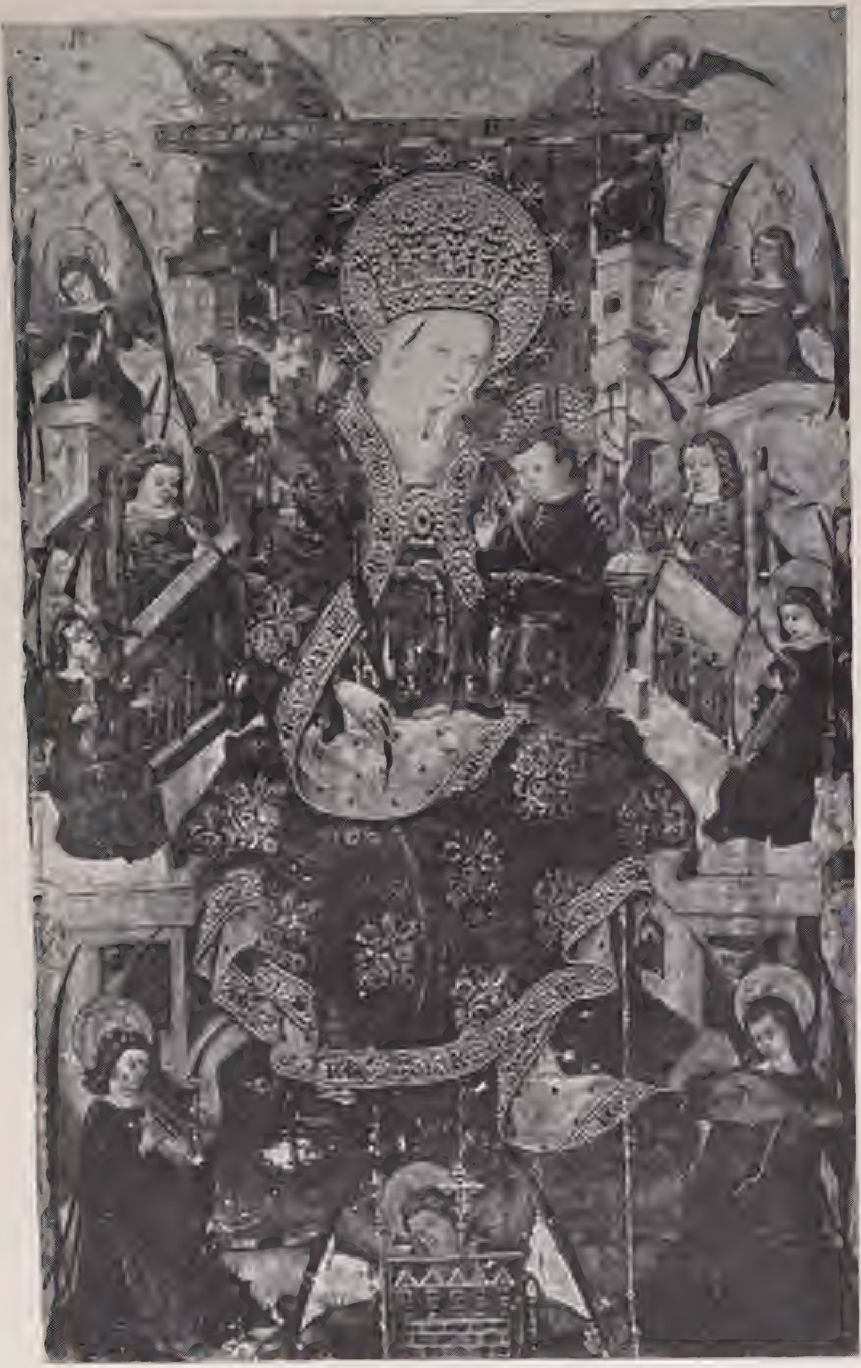

Fig. 334. MADONNA OF ALBALATE. MUSEUM, SARAGOSSA

(Photo. Mora)

orphreys, and morse. The Aragonese temperament has partially emptied the music-making child-angels of the spiritual *élan* and artificial beauty of their Catalan and Valencian brothers, but it has compensated by rendering them more human and more winsome. The technical skill displayed in the panel is such that the spectator feels himself at once in the presence of a master. His measure may be taken even by so small a detail as the sprig of lilies held by Our Lady, obviously painted *con amore*.

The Madonna of Albalate (Fig. 334) is recognized, through the escutcheon upheld by an angel, as one of the several important works of art[1] executed for the great archbishop of Saragossa, Dalmacio de Mur. Inasmuch as Albalate was an appanage of the archbishops of Saragossa and because of this fact had begun to be called Albalate del Arzobispo from as early as 1318 when Saragossa had been erected into a metropolitan see, the picture must be dated 1431–1456, the years of the episcopate of Dalmacio de Mur, who was in other ways a benefactor of the town. The panel was originally in the church of Sta. María la Mayor at Albalate and was thence moved to S. José.[2] It exhibits only such very minor variations from the Lázaro picture as the substitution of two musical angels for the donor and pendant shield-bearing angel and the assignment of the escutcheon to another angel at the very bottom of the panel, a general increase in the number of angels and a consequent decrease in their size, the encompassing of the Virgin's halo with twelve embossed stars, a somewhat different but no less loud pattern for her brocade, its enhancement by a fur lining, a slightly changed architecture for the throne and its enrichment by a tapestry which was perhaps originally touched with gilt, and a new but quite as conspicuous design in the whole gold background. The warmer tonality that distinguishes this group of Aragonese paintings is partially to be ascribed here to the predominance of red in the angels' draperies.

In a closely analogous style and perhaps by a single hand, which, however, I think, is not that of the master who executed the Lázaro and Albalate Madonnas, are two panels from a

---

[1] For instance, an alabaster retable in the Metropolitan Museum.

[2] V. Bardavíu Ponz, *Historia de la antiquísima villa de Albalate del Arzobispo*, 127.

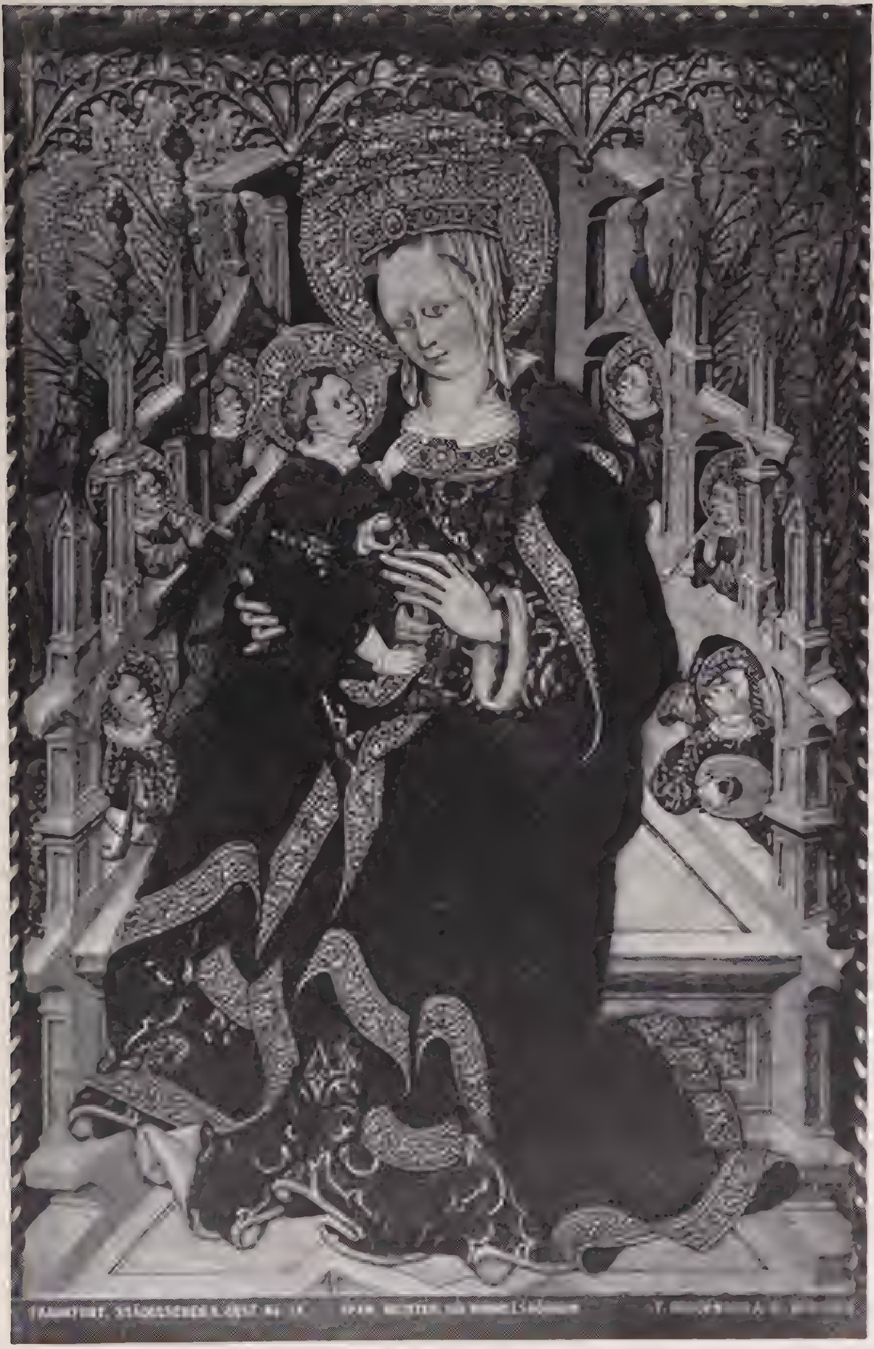

Fig. 335. MADONNA AND ANGELS. STÄDEL ART INSTITUTE, FRANKFURT AM MAIN

more southerly region of Aragon, closer to Teruel. The example in the Städel Art Institute at Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 335), the antecedents of which are no more accurately described than a provenience from the region of Teruel, enshrines a composition and types for the Virgin and Child enthroned among musical angels strikingly parallel to those of the two pictures that have just been discussed. The gold background, nevertheless, is incised with a less florid design, a delicate pattern of foliage. A softer harmony of tonality is charmingly obtained through a vibration of lighter reds: the lining of her mantle is, to be sure, of a darker tone, but with this are combined the rose shades of her gilt-brocaded and fur-lined tunic and the henna of the Child's dress. The other panel,[1] now in the Plandiura Collection but coming from Blancas near Monreal del Campo, which is on the road from Teruel to Calatayud, depicts the Virgin of Mercy, for whom two angels uphold a blue mantle lined with red under which are sheltered a heterogeneous group of devotees from all classes of society, the men at the left, the women at the right, and all depicted in the dwarfed dimensions of "international" donors (Fig. 336). Its right to membership in the present subdivision of Aragonese painting needs no demonstration. The proof includes even the resort to extensive embossing and the similarity of the petty, detailed naturalism of the worshippers to Sperandeo de Santa Fe. The evidence for unity of authorship with the Frankfurt panel is likewise rather compelling in a certain number of details that are not quite equal to those of the Lázaro and Albalate pictures: the types of the Virgin and angels; the perfectly regular and nicely cut oval of the eyes; the separation of the hair into rather large and well marked curling strands; the mannerism of bringing one of the ends of the orphrey of the Virgin's cope to a very sharp point; the repetition of the brocade of the Frankfurt Virgin's tunic on the foremost kneeling feminine votary in the Plandiura panel; and the figuration of the haloes and of the gold backgrounds.

Lord Leverhulme in England possessed, at my last knowledge of the picture, another of the characteristically Aragonese compositions of the enthroned Madonna; but only four small angels, perched on the pinnacles of the throne, now make melody, while

---

[1] Wrongly assigned by Mayer to the school of Borrassá.

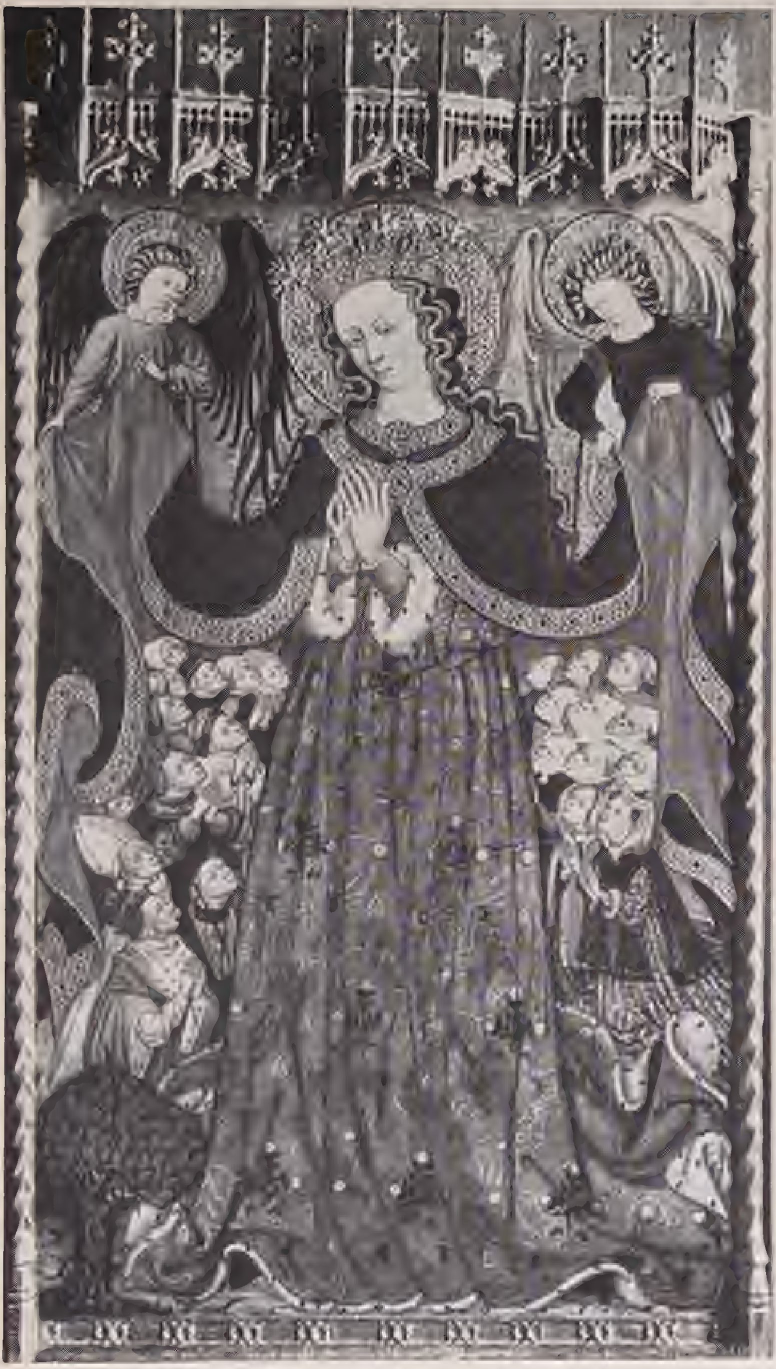

Fig. 336. VIRGIN OF MERCY. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

beneath, two larger ones, of a scale of size nearer that of the Virgin and Child, display scrolls inscribed with praises of Mary, and a third of the celestial company presents two birds to Our Lord, who already holds a goldfinch in His right hand. The work, which was shown at the exhibitions in the Grafton Galleries, London, in 1913–1914 (No. 32) and in the Academy in 1920–1921, has hitherto been labelled as Catalan; and certain factors, such as the less baldly plain type of the Virgin, might still be urged in support of this view. It is not impossible, indeed, that the panel was painted in a border region that underwent both Aragonese and Catalan influences, but in any case the strain from the more westerly of the two provinces powerfully affects all parts of the picture. The Child and the angels are approximated to the more worldly Aragonese standard; the bold *motif* of the Virgin's brocade closely resembles the specimen in the Lázaro panel; her crown is like those in this whole group of paintings; the pattern of the background has the same conspicuousness; and the artist has learned the trick of embossings. The nervousness, sensitiveness, and the *svelte* quality of Catalan painting have partly yielded to the practicality and stolidity of the school of Aragon.

The nursing Madonna in the manner of these Aragonese examples, which comes from Estopiñán and is now in the Plandiura Collection, has been discussed in connection with the Catalan school.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE FIRST STAGE OF ITALO-GOTHIC PAINTING IN CASTILE

Italianate Gothic painting in Castile and Leon divides itself into two strata, the first, of the end of the fourteenth century, probably due to the presence and activity of Starnina and comprising a mere handful of works at Toledo, the second coinciding with the second quarter and middle of the fifteenth century, resulting at least in part from Dello Delli's importation of an Italian form of the international style, and finding expression in a larger, although in comparison with Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon still restricted, number of productions. Inasmuch as Starnina was a Florentine, the first stage of Gothic Italianism in this section of the Spanish peninsula happened to be Giottesque, while, in other regions, with sporadic exceptions, it was Sienese. The peculiarity of the succeeding international movement in the provinces of Castile and Leon was that it was very largely confined to an imitation (though, of course, with native impress) of the Italian manifestation of internationalism and indeed to the production of two masters and their circles, Dello at Salamanca and Nicolás Francés at Leon. Franco-Flemish aspects of the movement enjoyed but slight favor with the painters of Castile and Leon, whereas in Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon it was exactly these northern aspects of internationalism, rather than the Italian, that were fused with the omnipresent native contributions (although even in these districts traces living on from the old Trecento tradition of Italian borrowing still maintained themselves). The career of Starnina in Spain we have already had occasion to discuss in connection with the school of Valencia, and we discovered that there were some grounds, however exiguous, for believing that he was employed by John I who ruled the western kingdom from 1379 to 1391. Since he was repatriated, at least temporarily, in 1387, his Castilian labors, if such labors there were, would seem to have occurred between 1379 and that date, unless he worked in Castile as well as at Valencia on his return to the Iberian peninsula at the very end of the Trecento.

In any case several pieces of concrete evidence witness to Italian activity at Toledo. The chapel of S. Blas in the cloister of the cathedral, begun in 1395 or 1396[1] at the order of Pedro Tenorio, who was archbishop from 1379 to 1399, and containing his tomb, is decorated with a cycle of frescoes the style and color of which conclusively demonstrate that they were executed by a Florentine Giottesco of the late Trecento or by a Spaniard so thoroughly Italianized that he ought to be numbered among the members of the Florentine school. Before we can discuss intelligently the question of whether the recent discovery of the signature of Rodríguez de Toledo solves the long-standing problem in regard to the identity of the painter, it is necessary to describe the frescoes and their arrangement. The polychrome embellishment is divided into two zones, but the paintings can really be said to be preserved only in the upper zone consisting of twelve spaces that are just under the vaulting and are framed at the top by its ribs. In some instances a space is occupied by a single large composition, in others by two smaller compositions one above the other. Polo Benito[2] has suggested that the scenes from the life of Christ in this upper zone are chosen and disposed so as to illustrate the articles of the Apostles' Creed; and although in certain instances one's imagination has to be stretched in order to read the proper meaning into the theme, yet, when we take into account the subtlety of mediaeval symbolism, it is not hard to accept the theory, particularly when we find plainly inscribed under the scene depicting Our Lord at the Father's right hand, *Ascendit ad coelos*, *Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omn*(*ipotentis*). According to this interpretation the cycle would begin at the right on the west wall, where the Annunciation and God the Father despatching the dove of the Holy Spirit from above would symbolize the belief in the first two Persons of the Trinity. In the following space on the north wall, the Nativity in the upper section would represent "Born of the Virgin Mary" and the trial of Christ in the lower section,

---

[1] J. Polo Benito, *Las pinturas murales de la capilla de San Blas*, 9–10.

[2] *Op. cit.*

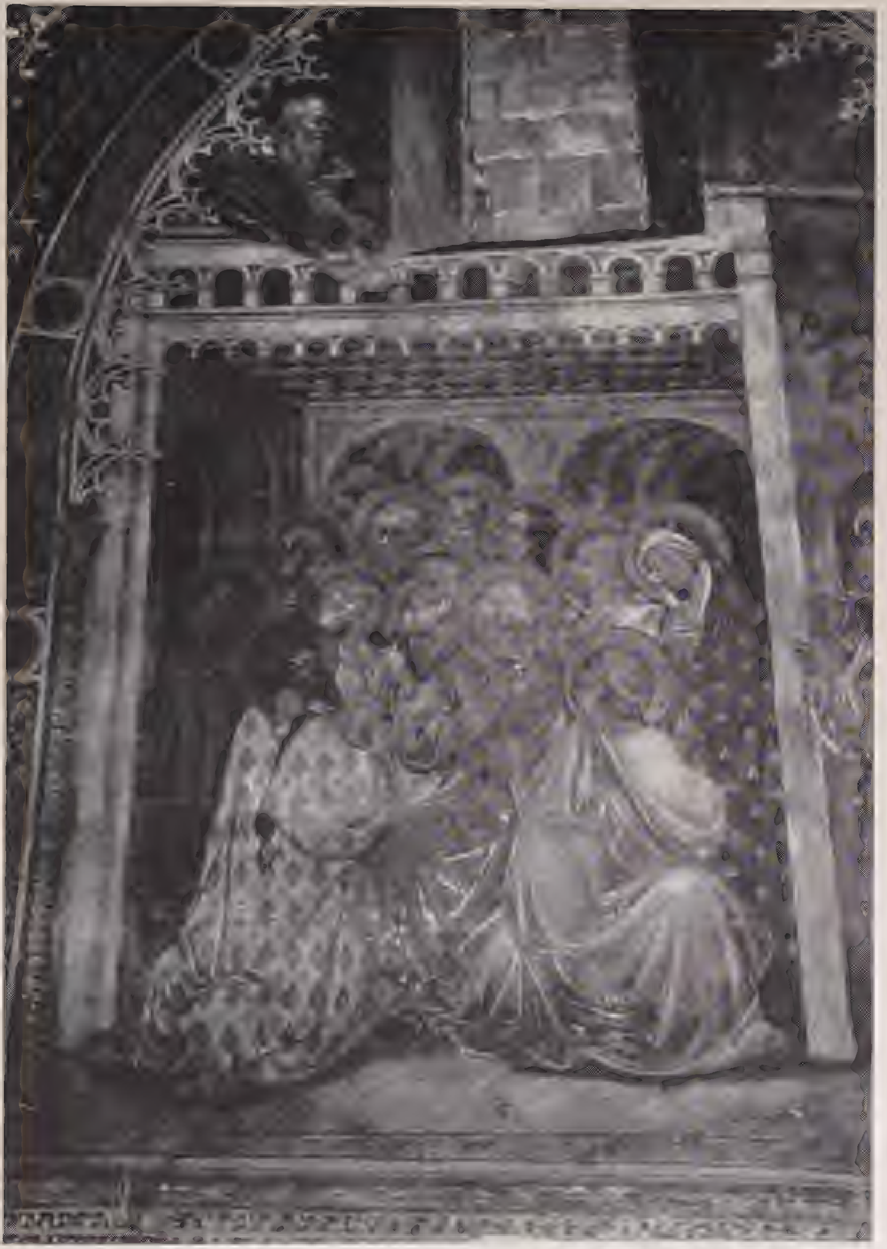

Fig. 337. RODRÍGUEZ DE TOLEDO (?). PENTECOST, CHAPEL OF S. BLAS, CATHEDRAL, TOLEDO

(Photo. Rodríguez)

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate." The next space on the north wall is devoted wholly to a painfully crowded Crucifixion embodying the words, "Was crucified, dead"; and the third space, subdivided into the Entombment and the Harrowing of Hell, materializes the phrases, "and buried; He descended into hell." The centre of the east wall is occupied by a window, but the Resurrection and Ascension are confessed by the two undivided spaces at the sides. The verses, "And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead," are literally translated in the first compartment of the south wall.[1] In the next (Fig. 337) the belief in the Holy Ghost is incorporated in Pentecost (in which I am by no means certain that Polo Benito is right in stating that the God the Father sending the Comforter is a later addition or remodelling). The third space on the south wall, for the purpose of setting forth the Communion of Saints and the Resurrection of the Body, is filled by Our Lord blessing the heavenly Jerusalem while, beneath, the dead rise from their graves (Fig. 338). The cycle returns to the west wall to end, on its left side, with the Transfiguration, which strangely[2] seems to stand for the "Life everlasting." Below the circular window which, occupying the central section on the west wall, separates the Transfiguration from the Annunciation, are depicted Sts. Luke and John at their Evangelic desks. The vaulting itself is painted to simulate a blue, starred heaven. The lower mural zone, under the series of the Creed, has been nearly obliterated, but the themes can be made out in part. Sufficient can be seen on the west wall to reveal that here were displayed an aggregation of the blessed and (?) damned.[3] The north wall is said to have been assigned to the life of St. Paul, but I myself am unable to discern enough here to verify this statement. Nor can I decipher on the east wall, over the door of the sacristy, the common subject of the Pietà which has manifested itself to better eyes than mine; all that is visible to me on this wall is a Pantocrator

---

[1] The figure at the spectator's left, however, seems the older of the divine twain and thus would naturally be identified as the Father, so that Christ would be at the spectator's, not the Father's, right.

[2] Miss King suggests that it is because Christ's transfigured body is the archetype of our own risen bodies.

[3] Miss King tells me that she was able to make out above this aggregation the forms of Christ and the Virgin enthroned.

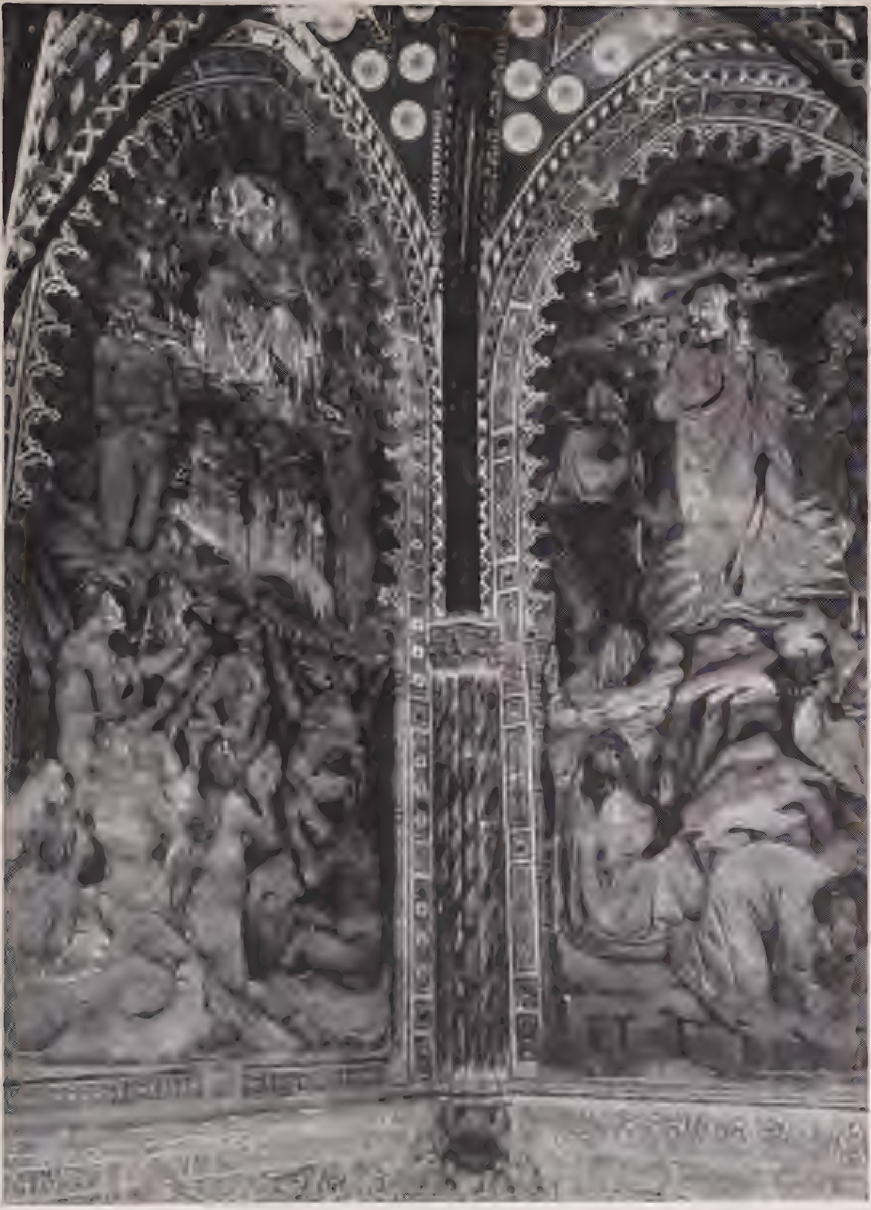

Fig. 338. RODRÍGUEZ DE TOLEDO (?). THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM AND THE TRANSFIGURATION, CHAPEL OF S. BLAS, CATHEDRAL, TOLEDO

(Photo. Rodríguez)

in a mandorla amidst a group of figures and a scene of an episcopal martyrdom. The crucifixion of St. Peter, which may be descried on the south wall, makes it clear that this portion of the chapel was reserved for his life. The inscription *liberatores urbis*, *numeratores pacis*, which may be read on another part of the south wall under the organ, has suggested to Polo Benito that here may have been represented some phase of the Reconquista of Toledo by Alfonso VI.

The signature is affixed to the scene of the bishop's martyrdom on the east wall and reads *Rodrigez* (*Rodríguez*) *de Toledo Pit̃or* (*Pintor*) *lo pit̃o* (*pintó*) — "Rodríguez de Toledo, painter, painted it." In front of the *Rodríguez* is an epigraphic character that has been variously interpreted as meaning *Juan* or *Maestre* (Master), but the latter interpretation seems to me the more likely. At first thought the discovery of the signature would appear to solve the ancient dispute about the author of the frescoes and about his Italian or Spanish nationality; but Polo Benito, followed by Mayer, holds that the lower zone, in which the signature occurs, is by a different hand and that only this section is the work of Rodríguez. The utterly dilapidated condition of the lower zone makes it desperately difficult to judge the style of the painting; but, from what can be perceived and by reason of the similarity of the ornamental borders of the scenes to those of the upper zone, I have virtually determined, at least to my own satisfaction, that the whole chapel was painted by the same artist or at any rate atelier and that therefore, although naturally he signed only at one place, it may all be ascribed to Rodríguez de Toledo. The frescoes could not have been executed after the final years of the fourteenth century or the first years of the fifteenth (Polo Benito to the contrary notwithstanding); and even if the character in front of the *Rodríguez* has been rightly read as *Juan*, the painter can scarcely be identical with an illuminator of this name who was active for the cathedral as late as 1459.[1] A stone-cutter of the name is mentioned as working for the cathedral in 1418 and an embroiderer in 1424–1425.

---

[1] *Datos documentales inéditos para la historia del arte español*, published by the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Madrid: vol. I, *Notas del archivo de la catedral de Toledo, redactadas sistemáticamente, en el siglo XVIII, por el canónigo obrero, Don Francisco Pérez Sédano*, 1914, p. 14.

If, as I have argued, Rodríguez was the author also of the upper, well preserved series of frescoes, it remains surprising that, as a Spaniard rather than an Italian, he should have betrayed such a comparative paucity of indigenous traits. In the Annunciation, the bright, large-figured brocades, the conspicuous tiling of the floor, and the brilliant moldings of the house might conceivably be described as Spanish touches; but the representation of the heavenly Jerusalem by what is perhaps meant to be the city of Toledo can scarcely be taken as evidence of the Hispanicization of the author, and the grotesque mouth of the monster in the Descent into Hell is a mediaeval *motif* common to all countries. Inasmuch, moreover, as some critics still believe the cycle of the Creed to be the production of an artist distinct from Rodríguez, it is incumbent upon us to review the various guesses that were made as to that artist's personality before the signature was discovered.

The name of Starnina has, of course, suggested itself to critics, but, if the chapel of S. Blas be his creation, then he certainly could not have painted the retable of Bonifacio Ferrer at Valencia. In contrast to the Sienese and Spanish qualities in the retable, the frescoes of this chapel were executed by an artist who is thoroughly Florentine, who has retained much of Giotto's solidity, bulk, and monumentality (as, for instance, especially in the Transfiguration), and who varies from his contemporaries at Florence by refusing to learn many lessons from Siena. Nor do they seem to be the work of the man who painted soon after 1383 the Castellani Chapel in S. Croce, Florence, if that man should prove to be Starnina. Even if we suppose that the S. Blas frescoes were done as late as *c.* 1400, a lapse of fifteen years will scarcely account, despite the Giottesque qualities of the Spanish cycle, for the change from the much more decidedly Giottesque and soberer character of the Florentine cycle. One fails to discover also any very pronounced signs of the addiction to *genre* that Vasari ascribes to Starnina. Revealing little inspiration and only quite secondary technical ability, the frescoes at Toledo are unworthy of Starnina, if he was indeed a progressive Giottesco transitional to the Florentine Renaissance. The only sign of anything but routine painting is found in a half-hearted interest in rendering the nudes of the bodies rising from the dead more accurately than was the mediaeval wont and in the study of their postures.

Tormo once attributed the frescoes to the Ferán (Fernando) González, who signs his name both as painter and sculptor to the tomb of Pedro Tenorio in the same chapel. A new element has been added to the problem by the guarded proposal of Almarche Vásquez to ascribe the frescoes to an otherwise unknown Valencian painter, Esteban (in Valencian, Esteve) Rovira, whom a document of 1388 represents as having contracted in 1387 at Brihuega in Castile with Pedro Tenorio to execute an important retable for the *trasagrario* of the cathedral of Toledo and as not yet having carried out his commission. If the archbishop employed him for an altarpiece, he might also have ordered frescoes from him, and the possibility that Esteban Rovira's style was Italianate might conceivably be gleaned from the fact that the document states him to have been in 1388 in the house of a Florentine merchant at Valencia. He is furthermore set down as "Esteve Rovira alias de Chipre" (of Cyprus): if the additional title is not derived from some jest based upon his character or upon some unknown incident, it could scarcely mean anything else than that he had come originally from the island of Cyprus and may therefore have been a prototype of El Greco, born in the Hellenic world, educated in Italy, and practising in Spain and even at El Greco's adopted home, Toledo.

Unless the present appearance is the fault of repainting, even greater caution is advisable towards Mayer's proposal, however undogmatically made, to ascribe to Starnina the frescoes, evidently once above an altar, in a niche of the chapel of St. Anne adjoining the church of the convent of the Concepción Francisca at Toledo. The subject in the body of the niche is the Mass of St. Gregory; the soffit of the arch is embellished with busts of saints, chiefly Franciscan, in the midst of decorated borders. The color is badly faded except for the red vestments of St. Gregory and the two assisting deacons. The orphreys and such details as the tiara are accented with gold. The period of execution is plainly the second half of the fourteenth century, nearer 1350 than 1400; but it is hard to determine whether the style of the Mass of St. Gregory itself is

Franco-Gothic or Italianate unless we suppose that the frescoes on the soffit of the arch, the inspiration of which is manifestly Tuscan, are by the same hand and use them as a criterion. The Mass of St. Gregory is less well executed than the figures on the arch, but its inferiority, consisting in a certain primitive rigidity, may be at least partially explained by the difficulty of the more complicated theme as compared with the simple busts of saints.

The frescoes of the Pietà and a small Crucifixion in the chapel of St. Jerome in the same convent are productions of the second half of the fifteenth century, remotely influenced by the current Hispano-Flemish manner.

To the problems that enmesh the early Italianate works at Toledo, another is added by a retable in the chapel of S. Eugenio in the cathedral. It embodies the same strongly Giottesque tradition that appears in the frescoes of the chapel of S. Blas, but it reveals, besides, some evidence of familiarity with the first signs of the Italian style of the Quattrocento and thus should probably be dated in the very early years of the fifteenth century. The centre of the altarpiece is filled by a statue of St. Eugenius, but the other sections consist of paintings. Across the top are ranged the Flight into Egypt, the Baptism, and the young Christ in the Temple; beside the statue are the Epiphany and the Presentation of Christ; and the predella is devoted to the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal, the denial by St. Peter, Pilate washing his hands, and the Via Dolorosa. The retable was once ascribed to the great painter of the beginning of the sixteenth century, Juan de Borgoña, and dated 1516, but Schmarsow long ago surmised that his activity must have been here limited to restoration. The recent publication by the Centro de Estudios Históricos at Madrid of the notes derived in the eighteenth century from the archives of the cathedral by Francisco Pérez Sédano[1] and of the collection of actual documents of the church made by Zarco del Valle[2] in 1869–1874 demonstrated that another painter popular at Toledo at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Francisco de Amberes, was either really the man who at this time worked upon the retable or that he at least collaborated with Juan de Borgoña, for a document of 1499 records a payment to him for labor on the altarpiece.[1] Pérez Sédano in his comment, appended to his notes,[2] on Ponz's *Viaje de España*, explicitly denominates Francisco de Amberes as the author of the panels, but, with a curious conflict, in the actual notes he ascribes them to Juan de Borgoña and to the year 1516.[3] The explanation of the conflict of statements is probably that both artists were employed for the task. Mayer holds that the participation of Francisco de Amberes consisted in the polychromy of the frame or statue. That work was being done at the beginning of the sixteenth century on the construction of the present Renaissance frame of the retable and probably also on the statue of St. Eugenius is proved by several documents referring to the employment of wood-carvers which may be found by consulting the index at the end of the Zarco del Valle volumes under the heading *Capilla de San Eugenio;* but the style conclusively shows the panels to have been painted at least a century earlier, and it follows that Francisco de Amberes and Juan de Borgoña could have done nothing further than regilding and retouching or the painting of the wooden carvings. Schmarsow believes that the prominent gold haloes in the panels, which impart a certain Spanish look, have been objects of this regilding.

---

[1] Madrid, 1914.

[2] Madrid, 1916.

In the midst of the general Florentine atmosphere of the late Trecento that pervades the panels a number of details almost astound the spectator by the vividness with which they summon up in his memory images of works of Giotto's followers that he has seen in Italy, and one for the moment has to pinch himself to realize that he is treading the passages of a far-away Spanish cathedral instead of the familiar aisles of Santa Croce. The centre of the composition of the Via Dolorosa, for instance, is occupied by an absolutely Giottesque type of a man in armor with his back towards us in a position that the father of Florentine painting himself often uses. From the foreground of the Presentation two children stand forth, closely akin to the boys who pelt St. Francis in the scene of his rupture with his father in Giotto's Bardi Chapel. Hauntingly Giottesque is also in this compartment the figure of the priest. Whenever a soldier has to be depicted, he is encased in the armor with which Giotto clothes his military personages, and the young man who holds the basin for Pilate is decked out in a scarf of the striped material so much admired by Italian painters of the fourteenth century. In the Baptism, neither the rendering of the nude of Christ's body nor His posture and gestures witness to artistic aspirations beyond the horizon of the Giotteschi. Nevertheless, tokens are not lacking to show that we have to deal with a picture that is transitional from the manner of the Trecento to that of the Quattrocento, and it is for this reason that it suggested to Schmarsow, merely as an analogy, the style of one of the many secondary painters who embody this phase in the evolution of Florentine art, Giovanni di Marco, rightly or wrongly called Giovanni dal Ponte. Just as Fra Angelico timidly introduces bits of Brunelleschi's architecture for setting in his early works, so here the Presentation takes place in a temple with capitals of the Renaissance. Although the majority of the types are Giottesque, the Virgin and Child, wherever represented, are beginning to cast off the bonds of the cramped style of the Trecento and to conform to the conceptions of the new century. In the Flight into Egypt, they already look forward to Masolino (and Starnina is said to have been Masolino's master!). In the Epiphany, they are enthroned high at the right, thus initiating an iconography for the theme somewhat different from that of the fourteenth century, and it is hard to believe, with Schmarsow, that in this case the more modern effect of the two figures is due to the subsequent repainting. A well drawn figure in profile gazing in at the extreme left of the Presentation anticipates Paolo Uccello. Unless the tonality is occasioned by the retouching, the color is enriched beyond the sobriety of the Florentine Trecento to a pitch that was to be maintained by Fra Filippo Lippi.

---

[1] Zarco del Valle collection of documents, I, 29.

[2] Pérez Sédano, 117.

[3] Page 44.

One of the aspects of the problem of attribution that attaches to the altarpiece is the question whether the hand is the same as that of the chapel of S. Blas. The identity is not an utter impossibility, but in any case the frescoes are earlier, with greater Gothic distortion of the drapery and with fewer omens of the manner of the Quattrocento. Schmarsow points out that the crowding of the scenes from the Passion in the predella with bulky figures is what one would expect from a monumental frescoist forced to work in smaller spaces, and it is interesting to remember that Taddeo Gaddi at Florence experienced the same difficulty in reducing Giotto's mural compositions from the life of St. Francis to the scope of little panels. If the retable was not produced by the author of the chapel of S. Blas and if the author of this chapel was not Starnina, could the painter of the retable have been Starnina? Here again it is presumptuous to affirm or deny. Surely there is little or nothing to indicate that the painter was a Spaniard rather than an Italian. In looking at the retable, Schmarsow was reminded of the Castellani Chapel in S. Croce, Florence, and the strong Giottesque flavor in the panels would be natural in an artist of Starnina's training. If Starnina prepared the way for Masolino, he would have been such a harbinger of the Quattrocento as the altarpiece reveals. The logical place to set the monument in Starnina's career would be the period when he is supposed to have been chiefly occupied at Valencia, just before 1403, the hypothetical date of his last return to Italy.

To this same period of Italianate activity at Toledo belongs a repainted and regilded predella in the baptismal chapel of the cathedral, depicting St. Peter walking on the waves, the Cleansing of the Temple, the Transfiguration, and Christ with the woman taken in adultery. There is record of payments in 1507 to Francisco de Amberes likewise for work in this chapel,[1] but, if the reference is to the altar now under consideration and not to other paintings once in the baptistery, it must again have to do with retouching or with the polychromy of the frame. The numerous Giottesque reminiscences in the panels extend even to the personification of the blowing wind in the compartment devoted to St. Peter, as in Giotto's mosaic of the Navicella and as in Andrea da Firenze's fresco of the same theme in S. Maria Novella, Florence. It would be hazardous to assert that the author is a Spanish imitator of the Italians rather than an actual Italian, but the predella is certainly imbued with more of the Spanish atmosphere. The backgrounds are gold; behind Christ and the adulteress is a domed, mosque-like edifice with Moorish windows; and in the Cleansing of the Temple the church with the lantern looks like Spanish architecture. The elaborate effort to render naturalistically the thunder-struck postures of the Apostles in the Transfiguration has turned out to be only comic.

---

[1] Pérez Sédano, 32, and Zarco del Valle, I, 80.

The chapel of the Trinity in the cathedral of Toledo contains an injured panel of an episcopal saint in a red chasuble that embodies a somewhat later aspect of Italianism, dating from about 1425.

Neither in the principal retable of 1539 in the Capilla de los Reyes Viejos by Francisco de Comontes nor in the two smaller lateral retables by another hand of the sixteenth century can I find any trace of panels that are said to be inserted from the lost altarpieces that in 1418 an artist named Juan Alfon is recorded in the documents of the cathedral to have painted for the chapel of the Sagrario and also about that time for the chapel of the Reyes Nuevos.[1] Could Juan Alfon have been a completely Italianized Spaniard and could he thus have executed any of the frescoes and panels that form the subject of the present section of this book? Perhaps his activity extended no further than the application of polychromy to sculpture.

---

[1] Ceán Bermúdez, I, 16; Zarco del Valle, *Documentos inéditos*, etc., pp. 471–478.

CHAPTER XL

DELLO DELLI

The international movement of the fifteenth century assumed in Castile the Italian form of the style because virtually all the extant monuments were probably executed by a gifted Italian exponent of the manner, Nicholas the Florentine; how far the Italianate internationalism of Leon was evolved under Nicholas's influence will be a topic for our subsequent investigation. We possess the contract of December 15, 1445, by which he agreed to paint the preserved fresco of the Last Judgment in the semidome of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca and the now almost obliterated frescoes on the walls below. Inasmuch as the huge retable beneath the semidome reveals a style similar to that of the Last Judgment, connoisseurs almost universally hold that it is a work of the same hand; but the consideration of this problem may for the moment be postponed. Documentary evidence also informs us that Nicholas had a brother, Samson, who was a painter and who in the sixties found employment at Avila. In 1466, Nicholas was living at Cantalapiedra, in the province of Salamanca, and in 1469 he reappears at Valencia with a commission to decorate the choir of the cathedral with frescoes in order to replace those that had been destroyed by fire. The trial-piece that he was asked to do before receiving the commission, the fresco of the Epiphany in the Sala Capitular Antigua, is half a ruin. The frescoes of the choir are not preserved, and, indeed, since he died towards the end of 1470 or at the latest in the early days of 1471, he may not have progressed far with the task. A few minor works that he is recorded to have done at Valencia have perished.

One of the most important discoveries of modern archaeological investigation was the recognition that this Nicholas the Florentine was none other than Dello di Niccolò Delli, usually called Dello Delli, an artist of whom Vasari has left us a piquant account but of whom no certain productions had hitherto been considered to be extant, except the fresco with the story of Jacob and Esau in the cloister of S. Maria Novella, Florence, so rudely used by time as to be useless to those who had wished to reconstruct a conception of Dello's attainment and engraved in so generalized a manner for Rosini's *Storia della pittura italiana* [1] in 1848, when the preservation was better, as to provide no assistance to scholars for further attributions. The chain of circumstantial evidence that identifies Nicholas with Dello, the date of whose birth Milanesi sets about 1404, seems to the present writer complete. (1) Vasari states that Dello worked in Spain (not before 1433),[2] that he was there knighted by the kings both of Aragon and of Castile, that he finally succeeded in having this knighthood recognized at Florence, and that he then returned to Spain (about 1448, if Milanesi's conjecture is right). Vasari's statements are verified by a document of 1446, in which the Florentine government confirms him in the privileges of his Spanish rank. The sculptor and architect, il Filarete, moreover, in the dedication of his *Treatise on Architecture*, written between 1464 and 1466, refers to him as still alive and in Spain, and we have already seen that Nicholas the Florentine is recorded as dwelling in 1466 at Cantalapiedra in the province of Salamanca. (2) The name by which the Spaniards called him, *Nicholas the Florentine*, is identical with the patronymic *di Niccolò*. (3) In a Florentine document of 1446,[3] Dello's mother, in rendering her report for taxation, declares that his brother, Samson, another son of hers, is domiciled in Seville, and the fact that Nicholas the Florentine had a brother called by this very unusual name and that this brother was in Spain is almost in itself a clinching argument for the identity of Nicholas and Dello.[1] Since the mother, in 1446, remarks that for about fourteen years Samson had not been in Florence, since he may possibly have lived in Spain all this time, and since Dello probably journeyed thither in 1433, it may be that the two brothers left Italy together to seek in the Iberian peninsula new pastures for their art. (4) The styles of the frescoes at Salamanca and Valencia are what we should expect of a painter who, like Dello, grew up at Florence in the days of the young Renaissance when Masolino was working out the problems of a Florentine adaptation of the international movement, when Masaccio had electrified his contemporaries with his artistic initiative and achievements, but when also the Florentine manifestation of internationalism had been softly touched by Gentile da Fabriano's bright and gentle Umbrian interpretation of the same European manner. Dello's sojourn at Venice is likewise reflected in his works in Spain.

---

[1] Vol. II, opposite p. 161.

[2] See below, p. 270.

[3] Mr. Bernard Berenson has kindly copied and sent me the actual entry in the *catasto* or tax-register, which helps me to rectify several of Milanesi's misstatements. In the first place the date for the entry of the account of Dello's mother is 1446 and not 1442. Second, there is no mention, as one might deduce from the passage in Milanesi, of Dello being with his brother at Seville, and indeed we have no evidence whatsoever for supposing that he was ever in that city. Third, she does not say that Samson had been in Seville for fourteen years (although it is quite possible that such was the fact), but simply that he had not been in Florence for that length of time. The words are: "El detto sansone sta e abita in sivilia con (col?) re di spagna et circha d'anni 14 che non fu mai in firenze."

It may, then, be taken as demonstrated that the author of the fresco of the semidome was Dello Delli. The identity with Nicholas the Florentine makes it possible now to give the exact date of Dello's death, 1470, at Valencia.[2] We must next grapple with the problem of whether the retable below was executed by the same hand. The external evidence is the following. The retable is mentioned in the contract of 1445 for the fresco of the semidome as recently finished, and, although the name of the author is not explicitly stated, the occurrence of the allusion in the document about the fresco would imply that the identity of authorship was so well-known a fact as to go without saying. That the retable is the work of an Italian is proved, as will abundantly appear in the later discussion, by the style of the painting and the architecture of the backgrounds and by the writing of the names of Joachim and Anna, under the niche depicted as containing a lamp in the Birth of the Virgin, in Italian rather than in Spanish, *Giovahino* (*sic*) *e Anna*. The altarpiece is the work also of an Italian who, as we know of Dello, had resided in Venice and become saturated with the

---

[1] It was apparently a custom in the family to use Old Testament names, for Dello is a diminutive of Daniello.

[2] I can see no earthly reason for Tormo's suspicion (*Levante*, p. cxxxv) that the Nicolás Florentín of Valencia might be a son of Dello with an identical name. Dello could easily be living in 1470 at an age of not more than seventy years.

Venetian translation of the international style. The many compartments, furthermore, are executed somewhat in the pretty miniature-manner of the *cassone* paintings for which Vasari says Dello was most in demand and in which he revealed truer talents than in monumental undertakings. It must be admitted, however, that the internal evidence provided by a comparison of the style of the fresco with that of the altarpiece is not absolutely convincing. No one would deny that the two manners are exceedingly close to each other. The types, nevertheless, are not quite the same. Particularly there does not appear in the fresco the curious half-closing of the eyes that is so frequent, though not universal, a phenomenon in the personages of the panels. The whole manner of the Last Judgment, moreover, is broader and more monumental. The slight variation in types may be partially the result of the obvious and extensive repainting in the fresco, particularly in the form of the Virgin and in the vast groups of the blessed and the damned. But this factor will not account for everything, since in the central figure of Christ, which is somewhat different from the many representations of Him in the altarpiece, I can discern no traces of retouching. There is yet another resource left to us for eluding the difficulty of the changed types and other variations in the fresco. The greater maturity, knowledge, and grandeur may be explained by Dello's realization of the more monumental requirements of mural decoration, in distinction from those of panel painting, and by the possibility that he enjoyed a rebaptism in the life-giving streams of Florentine art while he was at work upon the semidome or even before he had begun the task. It may be guessed that he was in Florence on June 27, 1446, when his Spanish knighthood was there confirmed, although the actual decree says only that the Florentine authorities have *heard* that he had been knighted in Spain and although his activity in painting in the cloister of S. Maria Novella cannot be taken as proof of his presence in Italy at this time, since, *pace* Milanesi and Van Marle, it is not definitely known at what moment in his life the friars of S. Maria Novella employed him. Recently, indeed, Fiocco[1] has proposed to date the fresco 1425–1427, before Dello went to Venice. Nor does Vasari's statement that Paolo Uccello portrayed Dello in his fresco of the Drunkenness of Noah necessarily indicate that he saw Dello in Florence in 1446. Vasari is an untrustworthy authority in the matter of identification of contemporaries in sacred pictures; Paolo might be drawing on his imagination for the conception of Dello at whatever age he chose to represent him; or Dello might have made a short visit to his home at some other moment in his career. Vasari and Ceán Bermúdez, following him, both assert that Dello did return to Florence in order to have the knighthood corroborated, and they dilate upon the difficulties that he experienced in achieving his purpose, but it may all be merely a good story. When we reckon the length of time then required for travel, if Dello did betake himself to Italy for the event of June, 1446, it is not likely that, before he started, he had progressed very far with the fresco, for which he had contracted in December, 1445, after the completion of the retable.[1] The slight alterations in manner may be elucidated on the grounds of the possibility of a new inspiration from his sight of later Florentine pictorial achievement in this visit to his home and his understanding of the diverse standards of mural painting. Gamba, followed by S. C. (Sánchez Cantón?) writing in the *Archivo español de arte*, assumes that the retable was not completed at the time of the journey in 1446, and S. C. ascribes to this trip a change in style that he discerns in the last six panels from the Emmaus episode to the Coronation; but the objection to this theory is that the retable is described in the document as already in place in 1445, and I myself fail to recognize any change in style except in the less flamboyant character of the haloes. The other documented work, the Valencian fresco of 1469, exemplifies, so far as the fragments permit judgment, the same more mature phase of art as the Last Judgment. The types, especially the St. Joseph, Virgin, and Child, are perhaps somewhat closer to those of the Sala-

---

[1] *L'arte di Andrea Mantegna*, 51. The engraving of the fresco in Rosini shows that almost certainly there was some relationship between Dello's rendering of the story of

---

Jacob and the right half of Ghiberti's composition for the theme on the Gates of Paradise; but since the Gates were being executed all the time from 1425 to 1452 and since in any case Ghiberti in this instance might conceivably have borrowed from Dello, the relationship does not help in the question of dating.

[1] Fiocco, however, supposes the fresco to have been completed before he returned to Florence.

manca retable than are the forms of the Salamanca Last Judgment, and the composition is no further varied from that of the panel of the Epiphany in the retable than one would expect from the larger scale of the fresco or from a repetition of the same theme by a painter of some invention after so long an interval. The posture of the Child, indeed, in both Epiphanies is virtually identical.

In addition to all these stylistic considerations, we must take into account the facts that the retable was indubitably executed by an Italian and that we know of no other Italian then resident in Castile who could have done it except perhaps Dello's brother Sansone. Were there any other artist then in the region so great as to have created so distinguished an altarpiece, we should surely have some record of his presence. No documented work of Sansone is left to us by which to form a conception of his style, but, since he had had the advantage of the same precedents of training as Dello, both at Florence and at Venice, it is likely that he painted in much the same fashion. Could the Salamanca retable have been produced by Sansone? Who can say? But a strong argument against this supposition is the mention of the retable in the contract of 1445 for the fresco of the Last Judgment in such a way that it seems as if Dello's authorship of it was tacitly assumed. On the whole, the many probabilities that Dello did the retable, as well as the fresco, are of the most cogent sort; yet despite all this evidence and despite all these arguments, a shadow of a doubt must remain until a document is found that contains the categorical attribution of the altarpiece to him. The shadow, however, is so light that, in order to avoid the annoyance of the constant introduction of a modifying or conditional phrase, his authorship of the retable is everywhere in this book stated as a fact.

The retable, consecrated to the lives of Christ and the Virgin, is a huge structure in the Spanish mode, built up of fifty-five compartments in florid Gothic frames, two of which, however, at the centre of the two lower tiers, representing the carrying of the cross and the lament over the dead Christ, are not by Dello but were executed a half-century later, by Fernando Gallego or a master educated in his tradition, to occupy the space that had originally been filled by a statue of the Madonna, for which there is preserved Dello's original painted background consisting of a simulated cloth canopy upheld by two angels. The predella contains twenty small busts of Prophets and other characters of the Old Testament. Dello reveals himself in the retable as a gifted Italian manipulator of the international style. He still retains in forms and draperies the Giottesque reminiscences of a master transitional from the Trecento to the Quattrocento; but he gives evidence of his Florentine environment in the early Renaissance and of the Umbrian note that Gentile da Fabriano had imported into Florence in the early twenties of the Quattrocento, and he also exhibits a very vital acquaintance with the more Gallic internationalism of Pisanello, Verona, Venice, and northern Italy. Were it not that the analogies to the production of Jacopo Bellini and Pisanello were so exact and so extensive, the north-Italian strain in Dello might perhaps be ascribed to the general participation of all exponents of internationalism in the common stock-in-trade of the style or to those aspects of the northern manner that Gentile had acquired at Venice and Brescia before his arrival in Florence; but it must be remembered that Dello himself had spent a considerable time in Venice beginning with 1427. The pages that often act the rôles of spectators in the panels are the mincing popinjays of north-Italian painting of the period, and yet even the more purely Florentine internationalist, Masolino, had a passion for giving these gaily decked coxcombs a prominent position in his frescoes. The dandies, however, are very frequently of Pisanello's rather than Masolino's stamp, for instance the group of disappointed suitors in the Marriage of the Virgin or, in the Epiphany, particularly the mounted members of the cortège in the hills of the middle ground. The architectural setting is often of a sort that develops in the painting of the Veneto as early as the Giottesque Altichieri and appears at its most typical in the sketch books of Jacopo Bellini — elaborate, imaginative, and even fantastic pieces of building occupying so much of the space as to divert the attention somewhat from the scene enacted and thoroughly in accord with the international spirit of *genre*. The upper *loggie* and open windows, hung with tapestries and accented with casual onlookers, were to have a long history in Venetian art.

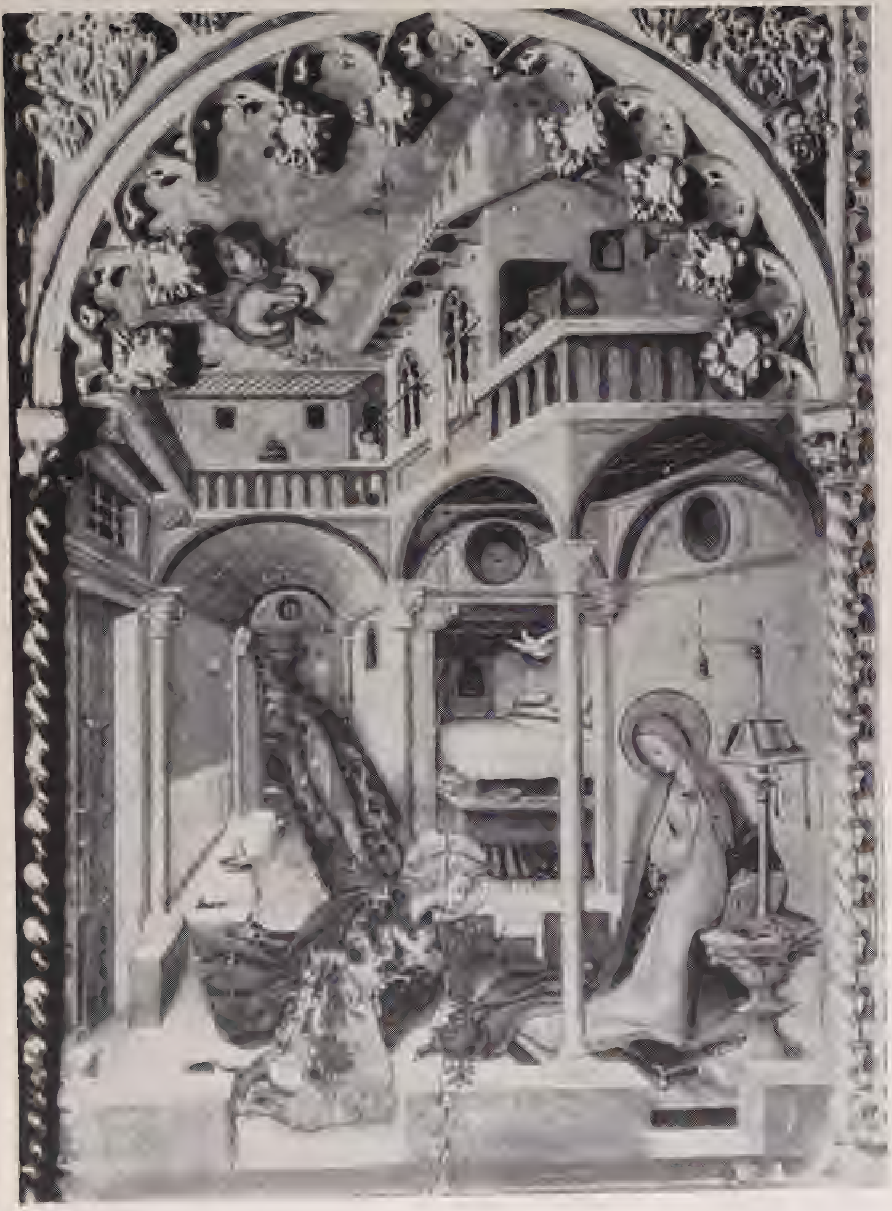

Fig. 339. DELLO DELLI. ANNUNCIATION. OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Despite, however, such occasional brilliant touches as the gaily impressive, peacock-winged angel of the Annunciation (Fig. 339), the prevailing mood is Gentile's Umbrian gentleness instead of Venetian magnificence. Not that Gentile or Dello lacks the characteristic international cult of splendor, but its effect is softened by the blandness of the types, the placid flow of drapery, by an intangible tranquillity of temper. Dello, indeed, is less addicted to finery than Gentile or the majority of his international colleagues. In the Epiphany, for instance, which may be an accommodation of Gentile's celebrated Florentine representation of the subject to smaller compass, the costumes, though perhaps also suggested by the Mysteries, are less gaudy than those of the Umbrian painter. Dello's adoption of the Umbrian mood is illustrated by his introduction into the life of the Virgin of the unique scene of her peaceful life at home during the period of her pregnancy (Fig. 340). The frequent iconographical theme of St. Joseph's dream is relegated to a corner of this composition, and the principal attention is concentrated upon Our Lady quietly reading among her handmaidens. The execution is charmingly harmonized with the tender Umbrian domesticity of the conception. The same gentle tone of mind is embodied in the making into a separate scene of the angelic ministrations to Our Lord after the Temptation and by the featuring of His dispensation of bread to a child in the Feeding of the Five Thousand.[1] One thinks instinctively of the way in which Fra Angelico indulges himself by the liberal introduction of children into his frescoes in the Vatican, and one remembers especially, in this cycle, the two tiny recipients of St. Lawrence's charity. Throughout the retable the types and draperies seem to be suggested by Gentile without slavish imitation, and the color possesses at least some degree of Gentile's richer warmth and devotion to shades of red in contrast to the colder tonality of Florence. In the scenes of the holy women at the tomb and of the *Noli me tangere* the red of the Magdalene's garb tells with peculiar effectiveness at the height of the topmost row. Despite the derivation from Gentile as well as from the Giottesque tradition, the types are impressed

---

[1] The episode here represented does not seem to be that of the lad producing for the miracle the "five barley loaves and two small fishes."

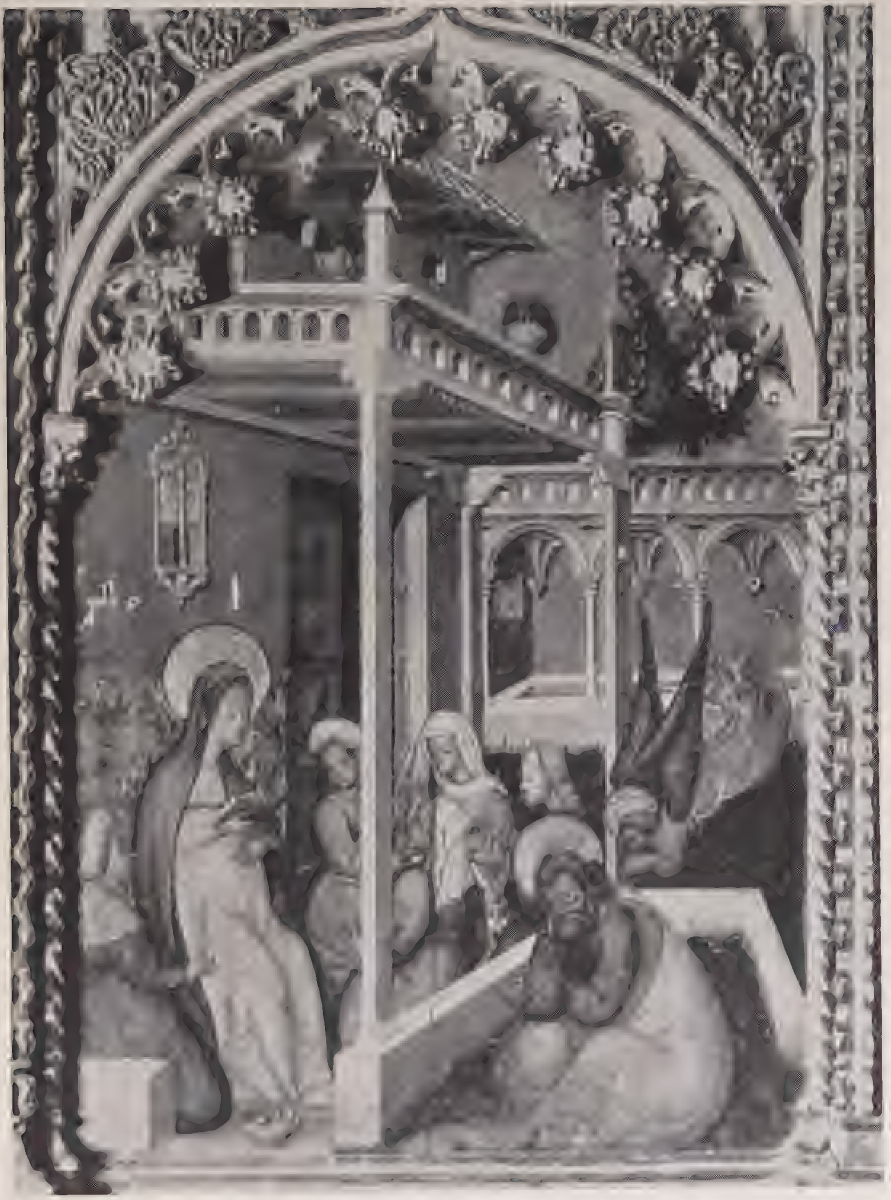

Fig. 340. DELLO DELLI. PREGNANCY OF VIRGIN. OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

with a personal cast that differentiates them from those of other masters and makes them unmistakably Dello's own.

Except for the somewhat lesser magnificence, the signs of the international movement are so self-evident as not to need rehearsal. The international spirit of *genre* delightfully pervades the altarpiece, for instance in the domestic detail of the room of the Virgin's Birth and Annunciation and in the episode, in the Birth, of the woman attempting to shoo away with her distaff the peacock on the balcony above. In the Marriage at Cana, the scullion carrying a roast pig is singled out for emphasis and is still further accented by the action of a maidservant who points him to the table. The interior of the Temple in front of which take place the healing of a leper (Fig. 341) and the expulsion of the money-changers is occupied by a preacher garbed in the habit of a mediaeval monk and ensconced in a high pulpit; and in the compartment that contains the former episode there also stand within the door two men engaged in an altercation. The painter dwells with glee upon the hard task that the Apostles are having of it as they pull at the ropes in the scene of St. Peter walking upon the waves to Our Lord. The Resurrection of Lazarus is set in a graveyard in which the sepulchre of the miracle is only one among a number of tombs. Against the walls of Jerusalem in the background of the Betrayal two peasants (not the sleeping Apostles) are so inexplicably sprawled out upon the ground that they can be only figures of *genre*, and from the ramparts of the same city many curiosity-seeking spectators watch the cruel advance of the procession in the panel of the Via Dolorosa. Through the landscapes of the backgrounds, indeed, as, for instance, in the Flight into Egypt, are frequently scattered personages occupied, according to the predilection of the international movement, with various pursuits and pastimes of every-day life. In the background of the Entombment, however, Dello impresses an almost modern sentiment upon two of these lay-figures, whom he depicts as inspecting the crosses upon which the Son of Man, who is being buried in the foreground, and His fellow-sufferers had died. The landscapes unfold the characteristically pretty elaboration of internationalism, dotted with picturesque towns and castles and accented with groves and gardens. As a

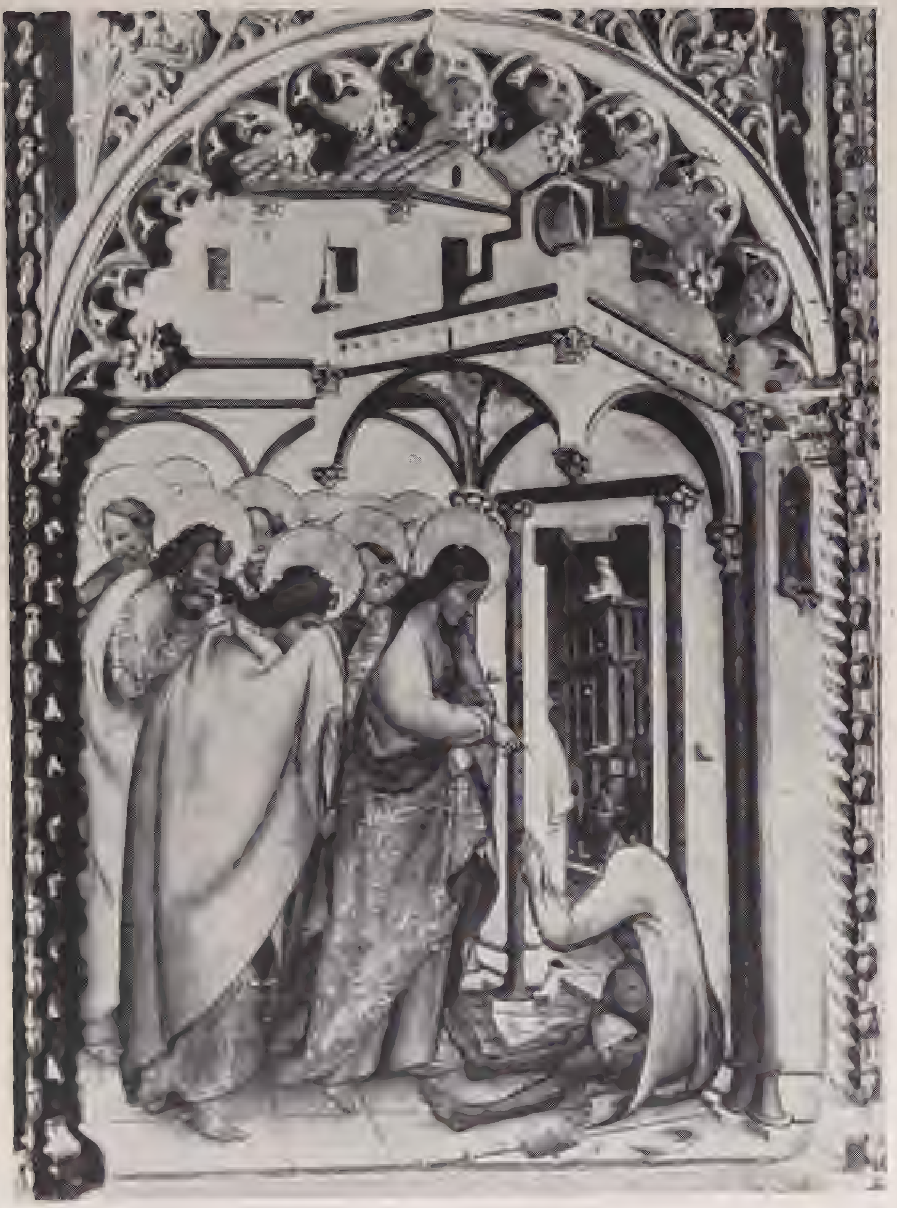

Fig. 341. DELLO DELLI. HEALING OF LEPER. OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

setting to the Feeding of the Five Thousand and to the episode of Christ and the Adulteress he employs seascapes, in the former instance with some justification in the Biblical text but in the latter only for the pure delight in the new-found international joy in nature. This aspect of his achievement reaches its culmination and its greatest charm in the Baptism and the Journey to Emmaus (Fig. 342). The Jordan and its banks are alive with activity. A group of nude boys (disproportionately large so as not to miss the eye of him who looks at the picture) vie with aquatic birds in water sports, and on the shore a hermit, perched in a high, rocky cell as inaccessible as the monasteries of Meteora in Thessaly, confers with a companion below. Along the road from Jerusalem to Emmaus trudge various wayfarers accompanied by children and livestock, and through the open door of the first house on the left may be seen a goodwife engaged in her household duties. The greater correctness and exquisiteness which the artist has lavished upon the town and its edifices and which he has developed to an almost Flemish perspicuity are witness to the pleasure that he here took in this phase of his profession. Sometimes the subordinate figures in the backgrounds embody, according to a frequent practice of mediaeval and Renaissance iconography, other phases of the story of which the chief moment is recounted in the foreground. So Dello, like Botticelli in the Sistine Chapel, follows the custom of bringing the three aspects of the Temptation within one frame. Behind Christ's conference with the Woman of Samaria two of the Apostles seem to be encountering her again or before, and in the *Noli me tangere*, with one of Dello's pretty dramatic touches, the Magdalene is twice repeated, first as carrying a box of ointment to the tomb and then as questioning a man at work with a mattock before she meets Our Lord in the guise of the Great Gardener. The skies, as so frequently in the international style, are of gold, now and then flecked with clouds and in the Assumption diapered with a foliate *motif*.

All of which does not mean that Dello did not owe much to his artistically strenuous Florentine environment. He was able to comprehend and partially to reproduce the advances made by Masaccio and the other progressive masters. If his rendering of form and perspective is less correct than that of his great

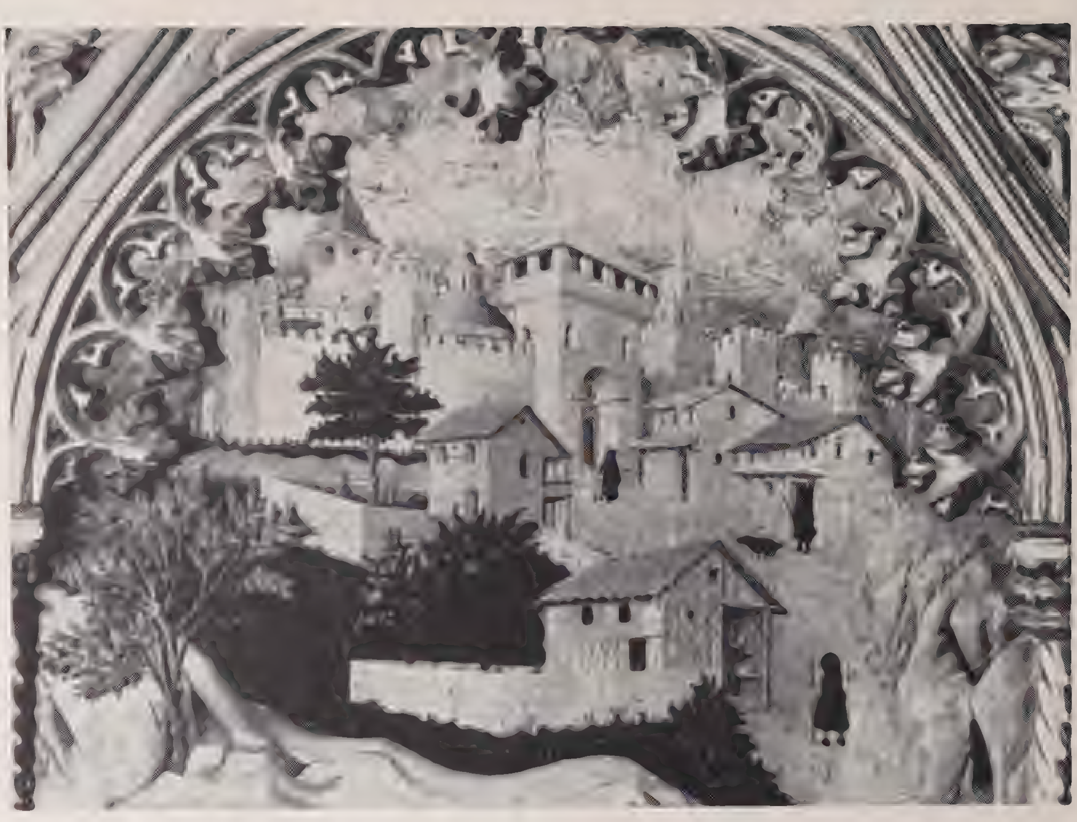

Fig. 342. DELLO DELLI. BACKGROUND OF THE JOURNEY TO EMMAUS. OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

Florentine contemporaries, at least he reveals a spirit that was alive to the technical problems that were then being solved at his home. Schmarsow has analyzed these phases of the paintings with such acumen that little remains to be added to his observations. The splendid nudes of the catechumens of the episode in which St. John Baptist points out Christ (Fig. 343) are evidently suggested by the similar figures in Masolino's Baptism at Castiglione Olona or Masaccio's fresco, at Florence, of St. Peter baptizing, and help us to understand why Vasari extols his delineation of the muscles. He has evidently revelled in the opportunity for depicting abnormal anatomy in the cripples at the Pool of Bethesda. The definition of the anatomy even in the Christ of the Baptism has been the object of some attention. Although not always impeccable in the results of his efforts, Dello was absorbed by the delights of the new science of perspective, especially in the backgrounds of the elaborate buildings that he learned to introduce into his themes from his period of Venetian training. Characteristic examples of his study of perspective in landscape are provided by the Epiphany, the Baptism, and the Meeting at Emmaus. But Dello, like Jacopo Bellini, possessed a personal and scientifically Florentine interest in architecture beyond that which he derived from the international movement. This interest is one of the few things that we can deduce from the print of the S. Maria Novella fresco in Rosini's book. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who saw more of the fresco than we can, describe it as having also a city in the background in which edifices are in the process of being built; but the engraving exhibits no such details. In the matter of perspective in architecture, the various rooms and *loggie* in the backgrounds of the Annunciation and of the washing of the Apostles' feet reveal, particularly in the coffered ceilings, as almost painfully mathematical a struggle with the problem, though by no means so successful a struggle, as the works of Paolo Uccello. In the Visitation (Fig. 344), if he does not achieve absolute scientific precision, he is at any rate most venturesome in introducing a street extending into the background on the model of such works as the raising of Tabitha or St. Peter healing with his shadow in the Brancacci Chapel. The woman leading a child and walking through the street may in-

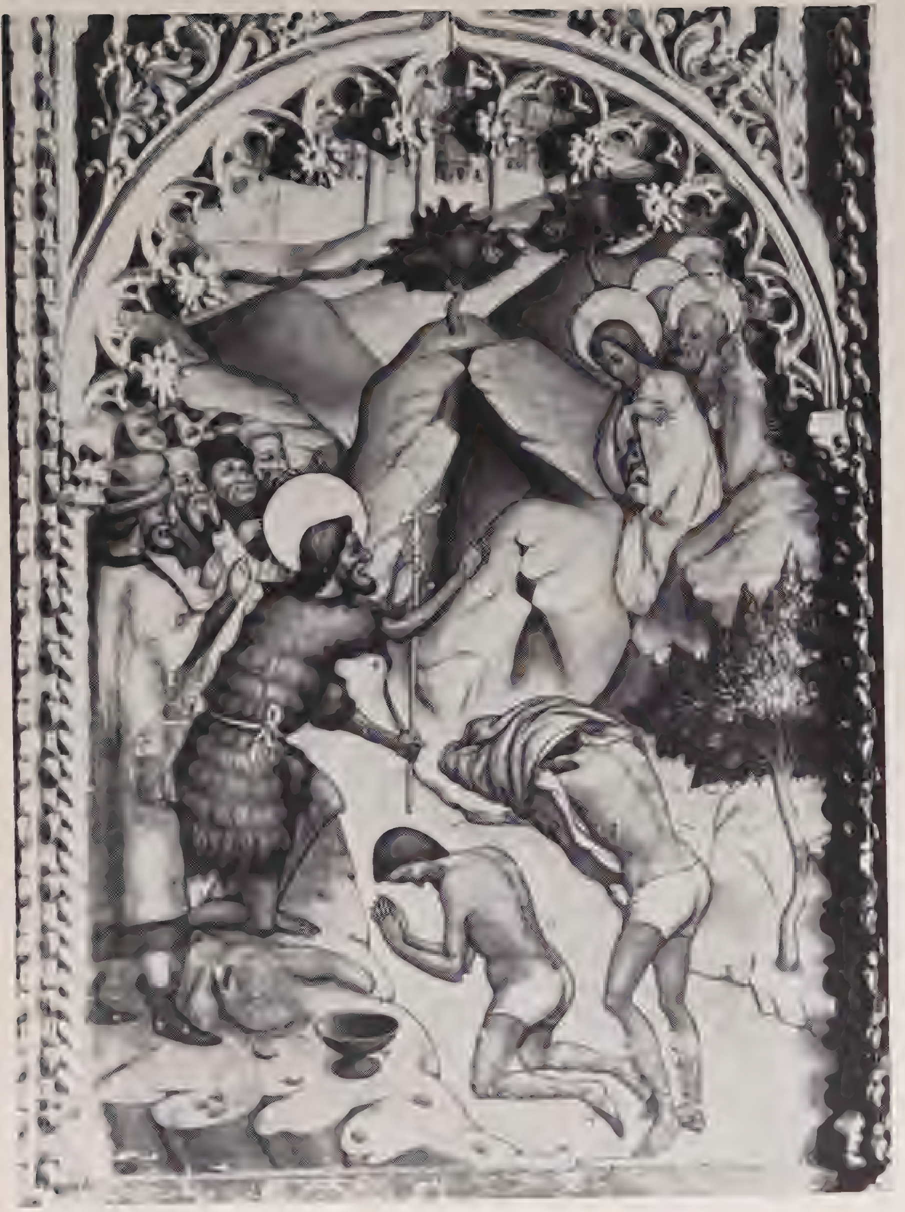

Fig. 343. DELLO DELLI. ST. JOHN POINTING OUT CHRIST
OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

deed be suggested by the similar group in the former fresco. The edifices in which take place the Circumcision and the Discomfiture of the Scribes and Pharisees are reminiscent of the east end of the cathedral of Florence and drum of the dome, and similar buildings appear in the backgrounds of other panels, as of the Via Dolorosa, the Entombment, and the *Noli me tangere*. The gallery and lantern of the Florentine dome were not carried out until after 1445, when Dello had completed the retable, and the gallery was not even executed on Brunelleschi's designs; but the gallery and lantern of the dome of the edifice in the background of the Massacre of the Innocents must have been suggested to Dello by earlier designs or general ideas that were afloat at Florence for these sections of the cupola. Although much of his architecture belongs to the class of late Venetian Gothic, he is prone, in the manner of Fra Angelico, to introduce pieces of building in the style of the early Renaissance, and now and again he employs as setting rather elaborate complete structures of the new fashions, often treated with the same fantasy that marks his Gothic edifices. He sets the cure of the woman with the issue of blood in front of a fully developed building of the early Renaissance, and Pentecost takes place in a rotunda of this class. In the cure of the leper he heaps high and crowds the background with pieces of Renaissance architecture, and the top of the octagonal *loggia* assigned to the scene in which Our Lord declares that he has come to fulfil the law is adorned with *putti* holding festoons as in so much of the architecture of the Quattrocento and as in Masolino's fresco of the feast of Herod at Castiglione Olona. The throne of the Coronation looks like the niches on the exterior of Or San Michele, for instance that of Ghiberti's Baptist. Occasionally he is perhaps recalling compositions for the sacred subjects that he had admired at Florence. I cannot follow Schmarsow in discerning in the Assumption any exact enough parallelisms, beyond the general mediaeval iconography for the theme, to justify the belief that he was imitating the representation on the Porta della Mandorla; but the Transfiguration and Pentecost seem to be highly original adaptations of the same scenes on Ghiberti's first door. The posture of Christ in the Cleansing of the Temple appears also to be taken from this Florentine

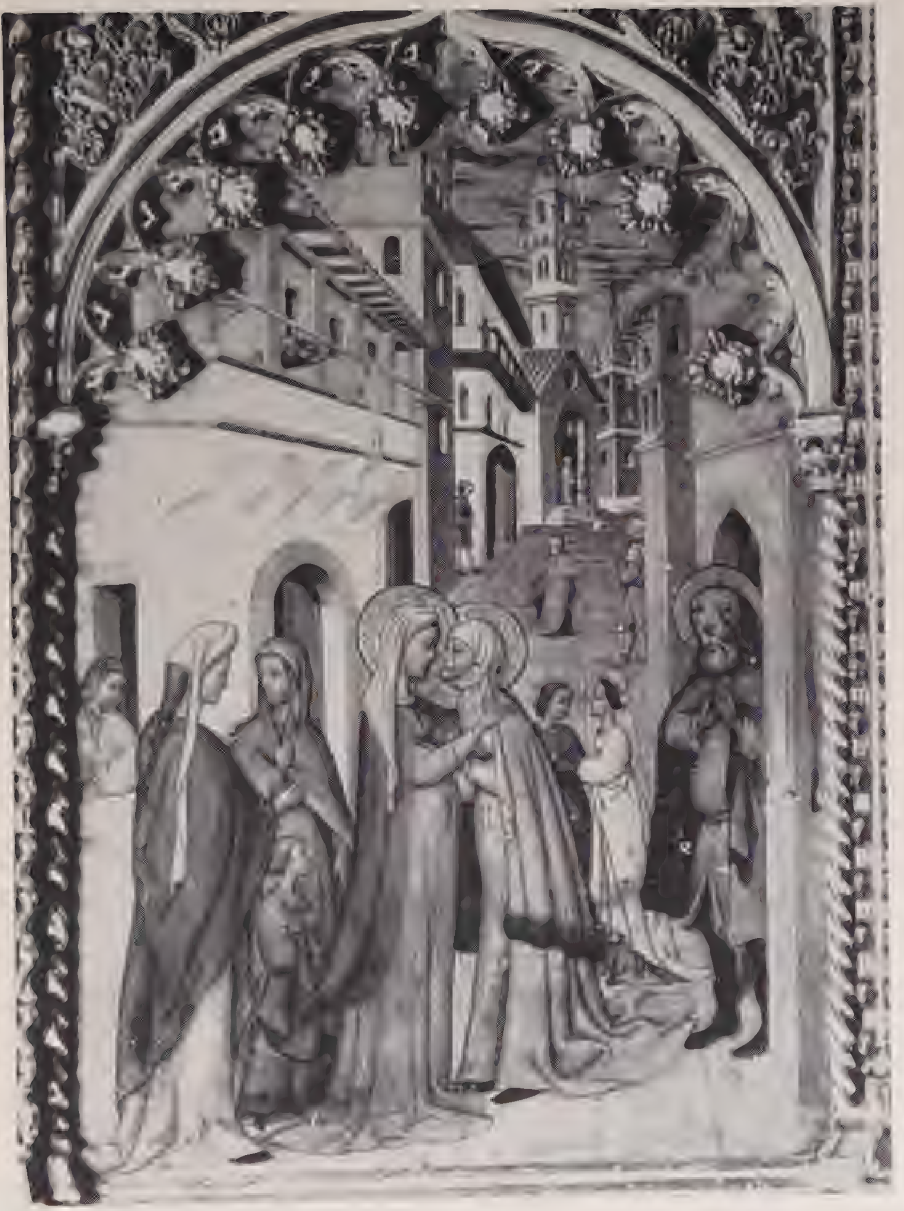

FIG. 344. DELLO DELLI. VISITATION. OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

precedent. Dello's Florentinism at times approximates him to Masolino rather than to Gentile. The similarity of the composition for his fresco of the early life of Jacob in S. Maria Novella to the right half of Ghiberti's panel of the theme on the Gates of Paradise may be due to a dependence upon Ghiberti, or the influence may have worked the other way.

Whether critics have been right in discerning here and there a Spanish tone is questionable. They find Spanish elements in the hall of the Last Supper, the cities at the back of the Resurrection of Lazarus, the landscape of the Baptism, and the dress of Elijah in the Transfiguration. It is legitimate to doubt that these details are really Spanish, and yet it would be strange if Dello had not sporadically reflected his Spanish environment. The striped mantle over Elijah's shoulders is not distinctively Spanish, and in any case none of these minutiae implies a significant Spanish *artistic* influence upon him. In the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the tremendous crowd, revealing in many instances only the tops of heads, is a peculiarity also of Catalan painting; but the nearest approach to any vital Spanish influence is an occasional accentuation of the note of international *genre* to a crude realism. He spares us no repulsive detail in delineating the maimed, bloated, and withered bodies of those who seek relief in the Pool of Bethesda, and in the panel of the cure of the leper we can almost smell the stench which emanates from the loathsome decay and from which an Apostle is well depicted as shielding his nose. The ear that St. Peter has hewn off in the Betrayal lies upon the ground saturated with the rain of gore that spouts from the wound. The Massacre of the Innocents was usually an opportunity for harrowing detail in the art of all mediaeval Europe, but one will have to seek far to find such a conglomeration of pierced and gashed infant forms, such a multiplicity of sanguinary horrors. The very centre of the composition is occupied by a soldier pushing a sword with all his force into a baby's abdomen. Yet to all this ghastly tumult Dello has created an effective contrast which, like the inspectors of the crosses in the Entombment, embodies an almost modern feeling and which may be described in one of the sentences that Ruskin in his *Venetian Index* applies to an identical element in Tintoretto's rendering of the subject in the Scuola di San Rocco: "It is a woman, sitting quiet, — quite quiet, — still as any stone; she looks down steadfastly on her dead child."

The present attempt to explain Dello's characteristics by the accumulation of influences that played upon him may create in the reader the impression that he owed little to his own personality. But such an impression is quite the opposite of the truth. Indeed the discerning reader will have gleaned the fact, particularly from what has been said about his adaptations of the international tendency to *genre*, that he possessed one of the most fertile and one of the loveliest imaginations of the Quattrocento. He expresses his inventiveness sometimes in pleasant variations of traditional iconography. Either he or his patron chose to dwell upon the Saviour's forgiveness of sin by making two episodes of His anointment by the Magdalene. In the third panel from the left in the third row is depicted her washing of His feet in the house of the Pharisee as related in the seventh chapter of St. Luke, and in the first panel at the left in the fourth row from the bottom, as if an event different from that told by St. Luke, the unusual scene, in the cycles from Christ's life, of her unction of His head as described in the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew and the fourteenth of St. Mark. It may have been Dello himself who decided to represent the pretty episode of the angel troubling the waters of the Pool of Bethesda (however disagreeable the frequenters of its curative properties) rather than Our Lord's miracle of healing at the spot. In the Flagellation he has seated one of the tormentors leering upon the pavement, and he has made the composition of the Crucifixion more interesting by turning the back of the cross of one thief towards the spectator. The Entombment of the Saviour is honored by the anomalous element of a long crowd of mourners winding among the hills, and Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathaea has climbed upon the sepulchre in order the easier and gentler to assist the sacred body into its resting place. For the representation of Pentecost Dello may have caught from Ghiberti the idea of the profane crowd waiting outside, while the elect in an upper room receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the detail of one of the crowd trying the door; but the gestures of the interlopers, among whom are even three of his Pisanellesque dandies, he makes far more expressive and convincing.

More than any other Florentine painter of his epoch he aims almost everywhere at definite expressiveness through the countenance, perhaps more often at rendering faces distorted by evil passions than those bespeaking virtuous characters. His efforts in this phase of his art are not confined to the principal actors but extend to the heads among the throngs of supernumeraries. For instance, among the recipients of the divine bounty in the Feeding of the Five Thousand, he has essayed the difficult problem of depicting a half-witted, stolid, peasant mother, and among the press of people in the Entry into Jerusalem, a supercilious and incredulous Pharisee, probably conceived as one of the spies of the Sanhedrim. In the Flagellation he has delineated a Scribe at a desk and his clerk as hardened worldly types impervious to the suffering over which they preside and to the spirituality of the Sufferer. Struggling to overcome the problems of this new departure in art, he has a habit of protruding the tongues from the mouths in order to accentuate various sorts of expression. He is far from always rendering convincingly the many moods that he attempts, and the results are often meaningless grimaces. He has, however, succeeded eminently in characterizing Satan in the Temptation as the suave deceiver. In the busts of Prophets and worthies of the Old Testament at the bottom of the retable he again tries his hand at widely varied postures and expressions, especially of aspects of mysticism, but he does not attain that easy mastery nor quite that degree of individualization which Ghiberti exhibits in the decorative heads on his two pairs of doors. The most conspicuous failure is the Samuel, where the desire to give the impression of illuminated exaltation produces an almost insane grin. Dello is one of the most pleasing and captivating rather than one of the great Florentine artists. His draughtsmanship, though never slovenly, is at times somewhat rapid and loose; and yet, when he wishes to linger over certain figures and seek in them perfection, he can conceive and execute such memorable personages as the soldiers of the Resurrection, sunk in different positions of heavy sleep, or as what is perhaps his supreme achievement, the ineffably ethereal Virgin of the Annunciation.

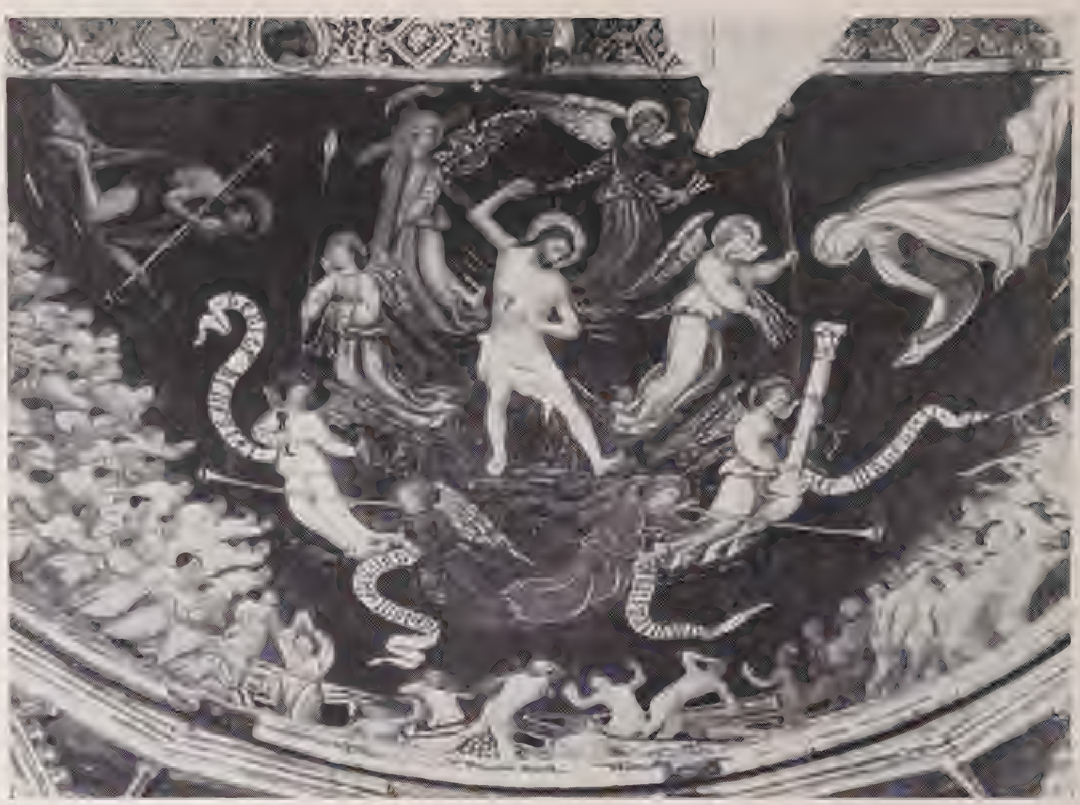

FIG. 345. DELLO DELLI. LAST JUDGMENT, FRESCO IN SEMIDOME OF APSE OF OLD CATHEDRAL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

In the fresco of the Last Judgment in the semidome (Fig. 345), he stands forth as a more serious artist than in the retable. Beneath the repaint the signs of the international style are still present in the types of the Virgin and angels, in the rhythmic flow of drapery, in the calligraphic swirls of the scrolls, and in the grotesqueness of the monstrous mouth of hell; but in the kneeling St. John Baptist and especially in the central Christ he has renounced the pretty trivialities of this manner for the nobler problems of form and the nude and for more massive figures. It is noteworthy that he arbitrarily chose to depict Our Lord as undraped, and Mayer points out how foreign Dello's nudes were to the atmosphere of Spanish art. The anatomy of Christ is not so far defined as in the catechumens of the panel in which the Baptist points out the Saviour, but this effect may be due to the fading of the original modelling or to a conscious neglect of it for the purpose of a monumental impression at so great a height from the spectator. The figure, at least in its present condition, inevitably suffers from a comparison with Masaccio's studies of the nude, but Dello's attempt deserves real credit in view of the difficulties of the foreshortening on the curving surface of the vault. In any case, he has created a form that is both monumental and properly heroic. The minatory gesture of Our Lord, which was common in the Italian iconography of the theme as early as the fourteenth century, is so convincingly rendered as to constitute worthy precedent for the same figure in the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo. The multiple nudes of the resurrected and the damned have apparently been ruined by drastic repainting, but, since details would not tell upon small figures at such a distance above the ground, they may have originally been somewhat summarily rendered. The decorative heads of Apostles(?) and of a child holding a candle or branch, in the midst of a border of conventionalized Gothic foliage, that are frescoed on the soffit of the arch in front of the semidome are done in the manner of the Prophets of the retable and enlighten us no further in regard to Dello's powers. Of his documented frescoes on the walls of the Capilla Mayor at Salamanca, only a fragment remains at the left of the retable, the theme of which I cannot make out. It displays three men, perhaps holding lances,

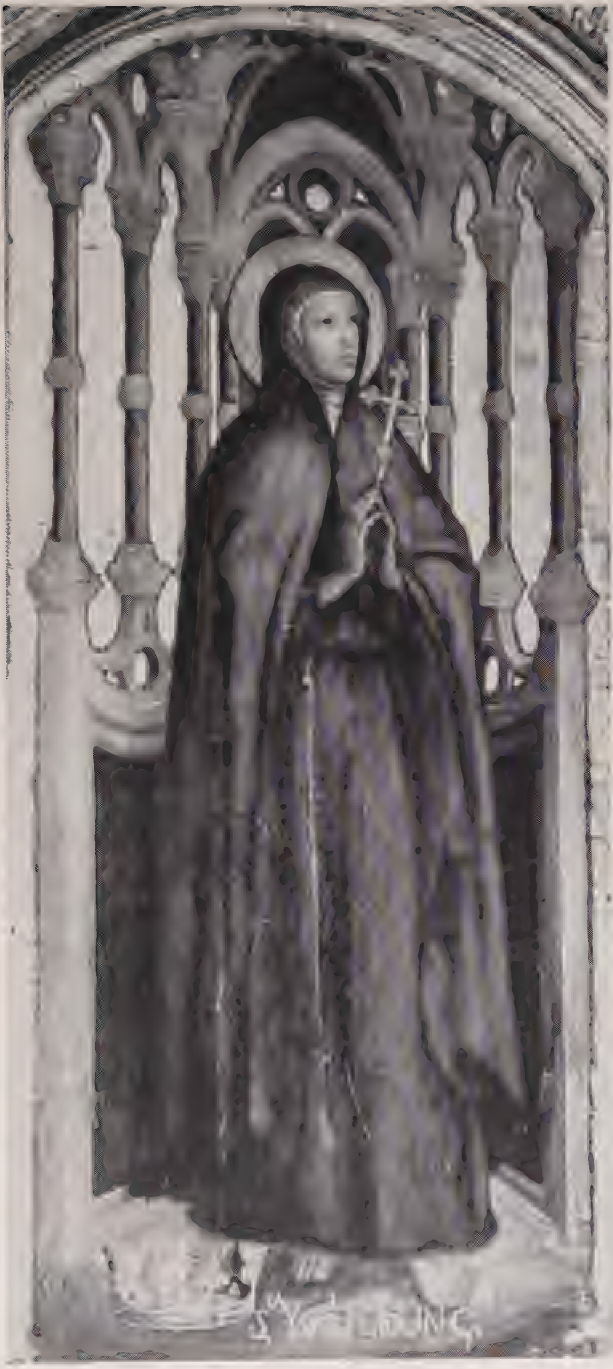

Fig. 346. DELLO DELLI. ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY
STA. ISABEL, SALAMANCA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

in front of one of the ostentatiously caparisoned knights of international painting and of the *cassoni* (distantly resembling Castagno's figures of great Italians), and it may therefore represent a battle.

Nor do we learn much more from the extant work of his last period, the fresco of the Epiphany at Valencia, the whole lower section of which is almost destroyed. The larger space provided for him now enabled him to elaborate the scene by giving more prominence to the cortège of the Magi, a very long cavalcade issuing from the walls of a city that is more carefully and correctly delineated than was the wont with the purely Spanish manipulators of the international style; and here and there among the van of the crowd some heads are made into rather definite portraits, in a way that he may have learned at the time of his hypothetical and temporary return to Florence in 1446. Even after all these years he gives no evidence of having taken on any distinctly Spanish qualities: the general style of painting, the types, and the color are still Italian.

It is not hard to concur in Gómez-Moreno's attribution to Dello, on stylistic grounds, of the large panel representing St. Elizabeth of Hungary built into a baroque frame over an altar at the right of the nave in the church of the Franciscan convent of Sta. Isabel (i. e., Elizabeth) at Salamanca (Fig. 346). One of the loveliest embodiments of a delicate and restrained mysticism that I know, she stands wearing over the Franciscan habit a beggar's patched coat as a symbol of her charity to the indigent. Her royal dignity is signified by a crown at her feet. As a setting for the figure Dello has painted, against a gold background, a Gothic *loggia* distinguished by the imaginative prettiness with which he treats architecture. The ability of an artist may often be gauged by the mode in which he draws hands and feet, and, if this criterion be applied to the St. Elizabeth, few have merited better than Dello the title of a true master. The perfection attained in these details, indeed, unites with a general technical maturity to suggest that the picture belongs to a later moment in his career than the fresco or retable of the cathedral. In addition to the internal evidence, the ascription to Dello receives some slight external corroboration from the fact that among the founders of the convent was

Sancho de Castilla, who held the see of Salamanca from 1423 to 1446 while the Florentine artist was decorating the cathedral and was therefore probably his patron but who died before the panel of St. Elizabeth seems to have been begun.

The Episcopal Palace of Salamanca is said to contain two bits of a predella with half-lengths of Apostles which were shown in the Salamanca Exposition of 1924, which hail from Cantalapiedra where Dello was living in 1466, and which Gómez-Moreno ascribes to him; but I have not yet been able to penetrate the closely guarded precincts in order to see them. Ceán Bermúdez states that certain persons ascribed to Dello a roll, 130 feet in length, discovered in the Alcázar at Segovia during the reign of Philip II and representing John II's victory of Higueruela over the Moors in 1431, and that Fabrizio Castello and his collaborators, when working for Philip II, used it as a basis for the painting of the same subject in the Sala de las Batallas in the Escorial.[1] If Dello ever executed such a work, it must have curiously resembled a Chinese painted roll.

In the main, his productions show him to have been no more than an imaginative, gentle-spirited, and thoroughly capable Italian exponent of internationalism; but he proves to be a far better artist than the hypothetical personality of his name to whom large numbers of *cassone* pieces are arbitrarily ascribed in the galleries of Europe. These pieces are usually works of less than secondary rank executed in a style of stiff pageantry that is an inferior phase of Benozzo Gozzoli's manner, whereas the real Dello Delli is now seen to belong more properly to the earlier moment in the Italian aspect of internationalism represented by Masolino and Gentile da Fabriano. That authentic pictures by his hand exist in the collections of Italy and the rest of Europe can scarcely be doubted, when we note how much Vasari makes of his popularity; and it remains an alluring subject for research and a monograph to seek out these works on the ample basis for his style afforded by the Salamanca paintings, to publish them, and thus still further to reconstruct his personality.[1]

---

[1] Ceán Bermúdez, I, 276, and II, 11. It is plain that F. Quilliet, in his page on Dello in *Les arts italiens en Espagne* (Rome, 1825, p. 2), is merely garbling, without any first-hand information, the account in Ceán Bermúdez unless perchance he is drawing upon one of the many authorities that he marshals in his *Dictionnaire des peintres espagnols*, published at Paris in 1816. He even repeats Bermúdez's scepticism in regard to the attribution of the Segovia picture to Dello, a scepticism that is based upon the false date, 1421, for Dello's death (a decade before the battle), which Bermúdez took from Vasari's first edition; but Quilliet lengthens the roll to over 150 feet! His tale and criticism of another work of Dello, the subject of which he does not attempt to name but which he says is signed *Dello Eques Florentinus*, is a purely fanciful lucubration, compounded of Bermúdez's citation of the epitaph *Dellus Eques Florentinus* and of his praise of Dello's anatomy, both of which items the Spanish writer had also drawn from Vasari. Quilliet even plagiarizes Bermúdez's actual sentences. Fiocco, not recognizing that Quilliet is copying and improving upon Bermúdez, takes him too seriously; but he does not spell his name correctly nor quote him quite accurately. He might have known that Quilliet was the debtor of Bermúdez from the fact that in his *Dictionnaire* he explicitly admits that this work is based upon his Spanish predecessor. In *Les arts italiens en Espagne* Quilliet mentions at the bottom of the page as his authorities only Vasari and Butrón (Juan Alfonso de Butrón, *Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la pintura*, Madrid, 1626), but Butrón in his discussion of Dello does not allude to the two pictures adduced by Quilliet.

Some not highly gifted follower of Dello Delli was responsible for a now "restored" retable of St. Lawrence in the little Museum that has been made of the chapel of Sta. Catalina opening off the cloister of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca (formerly in the chapel of S. Lorenzo of the Old Cathedral[2]). The figure of the saint at the centre is surrounded by four scenes from his life and surmounted by the Crucifixion. By an even more rustic hand of the same circle are four panels depicting episodes from the life of some aged saint (not Anthony Abbot, as is usually said) now built into an altarpiece in the cloister about a much later effigy of St. Francis.

---

[1] The small scenes from the life of the Virgin, Nos. 1280–1283 in the Louvre, there ascribed to the school of Gentile, are somewhat in Dello's manner but cannot possibly be by his hand (see above p. 210). That they contain elements which we have found in the style of Dello is proved by the fact that they have been attributed by Lionello Venturi and by Colasanti to the school of Jacopo Bellini. Schmarsow (*Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, IV, 1911, p. 148) conjecturally and, for me, impossibly ascribes to Nicholas the Florentine, i. e., to Dello Delli, a wing of a triptych representing six Apostles in the Museum at Altenburg, for which he had previously ventured an attribution to Antonio Veneziano, an attribution that had been generally rejected by other scholars. The attribution to Antonio Veneziano, with a good illustration, is made by Schmarsow in the *Festschrift zu Ehren des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 173–176. The centre of the triptych, probably depicting the Ascending Lord, is lost, but the Altenburg catalogue of 1898 states that the other wing was then in private possession. I cannot agree with Fiocco in ascribing to Dello, on the basis of the Salamanca retable, the two panels of the martyrdoms of Sts. Lucy and Apollonia in the gallery of Bergamo, which have been variously attributed also to the Venetian internationalists, Jacopo Bellini, Antonio Vivarini, and Francesco dei Franceschi, nor the panel in the Museo Civico, Bassano, that depicts another feminine saint dragged by a horse.

[2] J. M. Quadrado, *Salamanca, Ávila y Segovia* (*España, sus monumentos y artes*), Barcelona, 1884, p. 50.

CHAPTER XLI

NICOLÁS FRANCÉS AND HIS CIRCLE

In the middle of the century Castile and Leon became the seat of a school of international painting which sporadically borrowed elements from Dello's cycle of works at Salamanca or came into contact with the art of Italy through some other channel, but the Italianism of which has been exaggerated. The school is really an indigenous manifestation of the international movement, which in this section of the peninsula lived on longer than elsewhere in Spain, maintaining itself through the third quarter of the fifteenth century at the side of the nascent Flemish manner. The centre of the school was Leon, and its head was another Master Nicholas, Nicolás Francés,[1] who is recorded to have resided with his first wife in the city as early as the episcopate of Alfonso de Cusanca (or Cusanza), 1424–1437,[2] who from this time on is frequently mentioned in the documents as working for the cathedral in the guise both of painter and of designer of stained glass, and who died in 1468. The surname, Francés, leaves us in the same quandary as in the case of his Flemishizing contemporary of the second half of the century, Jorge Inglés: it may mean either that he was actually born in France or only that he belonged to a family of ultimate French origin. In any case, his style is thoroughly Hispanicized. His surely documented works are the retable of the high altar of the cathedral and the frescoes in the cloister. The retable had been hitherto conjecturally ascribed to him, and this hypothesis has now been firmly substantiated by Sánchez Cantón's discovery of the definite statement, in a chronicle of a tournament of 1434, that the altarpiece was painted by Master Nicolás Francés.[1] This chronicle is none other than Pedro Rodríguez de Lena's account of what Fitzmaurice-Kelly calls the "maddest, hugest tourney in the world's history," the *Paso honroso de Suero de Quiñones*, the passage of honor of the Spanish *preux chevalier* of John II's court, Suero de Quiñones.[2] In addition, this document furnishes us with the master's appellation, Francés. It would, moreover, seem to date the retable before 1434. The detail with which the tournament is described would imply that the chronicle was composed at the actual time of the event, 1434, but it is just possible, though not likely, that the author later inserted the reference to the retable, so that the date cannot be considered as *absolutely* certain. The original huge and elaborate altarpiece was dismantled in 1741 and the sections scattered or destroyed, but in 1900 the extant dispersed pieces were recovered and either combined with somewhat later pictures to form the present retable or built into the episcopal throne. In the retable as it now exists, only five panels (unusually large and somewhat restored) are the work of Nicolás, representing three episodes from the life of the patron bishop, St. Froilán,[3] the translation of the relics of St. James, and the Presentation of the Virgin. The episodes of St. Froilán in the desert and of the translation of St. James, as well as certain frescoes in the cloister, contain more than one scene within the same frame, in the mediaeval fashion, not separated by any partition. The other pieces of the present retable, which have likewise been assembled from other places, the six small panels from the life of the Virgin that make up the predella and the two panels at the top, enshrining each three half-lengths of Apostles, belong to the Hispano-Flemish manner of *c.* 1500 just as it was turning into the style of the Renaissance, but are the work of at least two painters. The sections from the original frame now built into the episcopal throne comprise eighteen figures of Gabriel, saints, and Prophets, namely the themes that were customary on these parts of a retable.

---

[1] The recent attempt of E. Díaz-Jiménez (*El pintor Nicolás Florentino*) to identify the Nicholas of Leon with the Nicholas of Salamanca falls to the ground with the discoveries that the surname of the former was Francés and that he died in 1468 at Leon two years before the decease of Nicholas the Florentine at Valencia. The identification was based upon an entry of 1468 which Díaz-Jiménez alleged was in a book of accounts of the cathedral of Leon, calling the Nicholas of Leon Nicholas the Florentine, but which apparently is not there. To give credence to the identification, it would also have been necessary to believe what is almost an absurdity, that the composite Nicholas of Salamanca and Leon would have been sent to Salamanca to extract artistic inspiration from his own fresco of the Last Judgment. Stylistic considerations might have forestalled the identification in the first place.

[2] The date of his death is thus given by Eubel (*Hierarchia catholica*); Gams (*Series episcoporum*) merely states 1435 as the last mention of him.

---

[1] The statement does not explicitly say "the retable of the high altar," but "*the* retable" of the cathedral, which can hardly mean anything else than the principal retable, despite the fact that Nicholas is recorded in another document to have done also a (non-extant) retable for a side altar of the choir. But this second and subordinate retable was painted in 1450, so that it could not be the one referred to in 1434; and for cumulative evidence the pictorial style, similar to that manifested in the documented frescoes of the cloister, agrees with the statement in the chronicle.

[2] J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A History of Spanish Literature*, New York, 1908, p. 105. For the manuscripts and inadequate publication of the chronicle, see the bibliography of Sánchez Cantón's excellent article on Nicolás Francés, *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, I, 1925, p. 58.

[3] The Latin form is Froilanus. The Bollandist account of him is found under the feasts of October 5; another life, from a manuscript in the cathedral of Leon, is published in *España Sagrada*, XXXIV, 422 ff.

Although Nicholas received in 1451[1] the order to decorate the extensive walls of the cloister, he did not actually put his shoulder to the task until 1459, but he had almost completed the Herculean undertaking at his death in 1468, leaving very little to be done by his successors. The paintings, placed in the tympana of the arches along the walls of the cloister, originally constituted a cycle of thirty large frescoes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin, several of the frescoes, however, being divided into two episodes. An inordinate number of the series from the life of Christ are devoted to the Passion. Time has not been kind to the cycle. A few of the paintings have been utterly obliterated, and those that are left have suffered seriously, fading in places to indistinctness and all of them so far losing their color that their tonality is now even more anaemic than that of Puvis de Chavannes. The gold brocade of the Virgin's tunic that is still preserved in the representation of her marriage suggests the question of how far in the original condition of this more serious commission of the frescoes we should have found Nicolás retaining the gilded brilliancy that he exhibits in the retable. Recently they have been subjected to an intelligent restoration, consisting merely in removing the subsequent repaintings and bringing out the disappearing outlines by following them with a light brush dipped in a dark color, and the result is that the forms and compositions are clearer today than they were a generation ago. The restoration has also shown that Nicolás Francés and his assistants virtually finished the whole cycle and that there remained fewer subjects to be done by later artists than had been suspected. Indeed in only two of the tympana can I discern a different style. The largely ruined Annunciation is the work of a good Hispano-Flemish hand. Of the second example only a bit of painted architecture and an escutcheon are preserved, but these are enough to prove that it was the scene of the young Christ in the Temple which we know by documentary evidence was executed by a Lorenzo de Ávila in 1521,[1] for the architecture is of the Renaissance and the shield is that of the bishop Esteban Gabriel Merino who ruled the see from 1517 to 1523. Documents of the cathedral[2] record the painting of five frescoes of the cloister in 1561 and 1562, but the references must be either to five of the six paintings that have entirely disappeared or, as Demetrio de los Ríos suggests, to retouching. Even among the other frescoes there is only one that can with any conviction be ascribed to a pupil rather than to Nicolás himself, the Massacre of the Innocents; and even here the pupil, if it be a pupil, is very close to the master.

---

[1] For the documents, see Demetrio de los Ríos, *La catedral de León*, I, 123–125, and II, 216–218; see also *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia*, no. XII (1928), 243.

The cycle consists of the following themes: (1) (largely erased) the Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Presentation of the Virgin; (2) the Marriage of the Virgin; (3) the Annunciation (Hispano-Flemish); (4), (5), and (6) lost; (7) the Massacre of the Innocents; (8) lost; (9) the fragment of the Christ in the Temple by Lorenzo de Ávila; (10) subject no longer surely recognizable but perhaps the Epiphany, though out of order; (11) the scene in which the Jews ask Our Lord whether He is greater than their father Abraham[3] (from this and the next five tympana the painting has almost disappeared); (12) the despatching of two disciples to get the ass for the Entry into Jerusalem; (13) the actual Entry; (14) the Last Supper; (15) the washing of the Apostles' feet; (16) the Betrayal; (17) the stripping of Christ (the subject that the Spaniards called the Espolio, as in El Greco's celebrated painting at Toledo) and St. Peter's denial to the maid-servant; (18) the Flagellation; (19) the Ecce Homo; (20) the imposition of the crown of thorns and

---

[1] The subject is called in the document the *disputa:* see Demetrio de los Ríos, *op. cit.*, II, 218.

[2] Demetrio de los Ríos, I, 126.

[3] John, viii. Gómez-Moreno discerns in the dim fragments rather the Baptism.

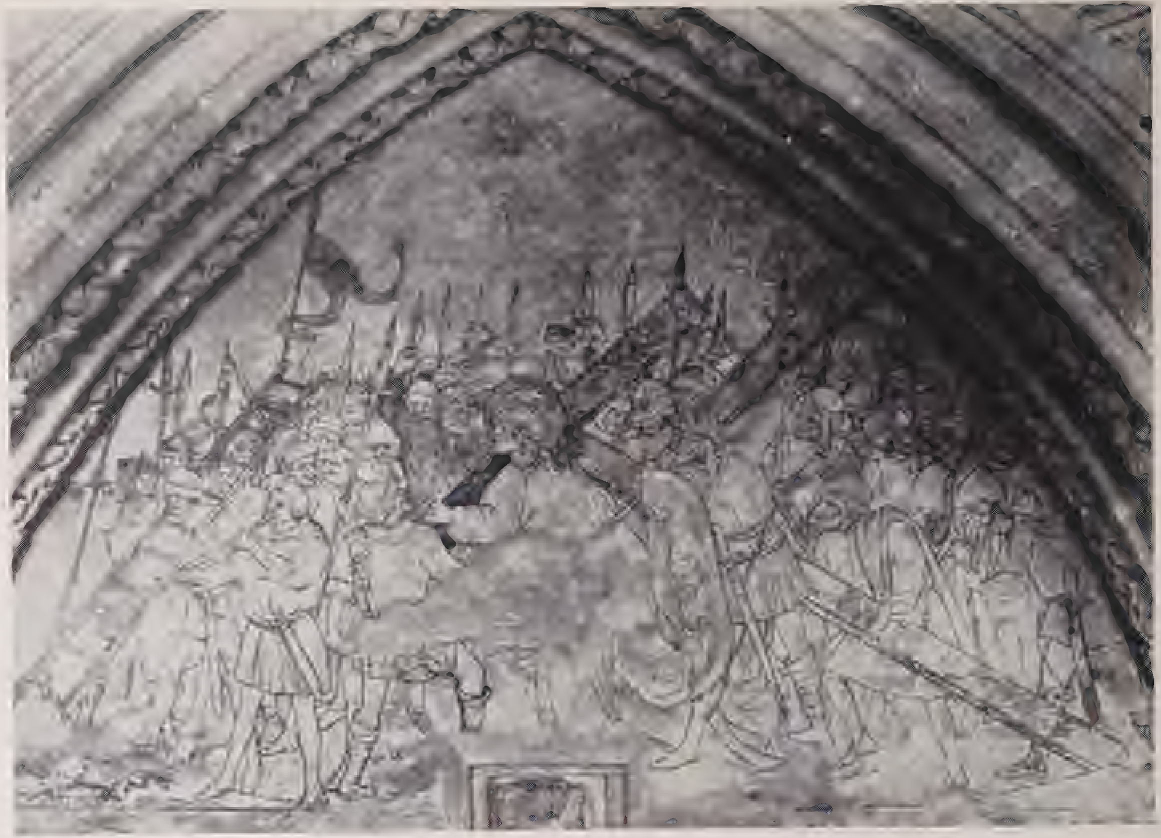

Fig. 347. NICOLÁS FRANCÉS. VIA DOLOROSA, CLOISTER OF CATHEDRAL, LEON

(Photo. Winocio)

the mocking; (21) Pilate washing his hands; (22) the Via Dolorosa (Fig. 347), confined to the upper zone of the tympanum by the tomb of the canon Juan de Grajal (d. 1447) beneath, beside which Nicolás has painted also two broad and monumental figures of Sts. Andrew and Bartholomew; (23) the nailing to the cross, substituted for the actual Crucifixion and exhibiting the diagonal position of the cross that appears in Aragon (Fig. 348); (24) the Deposition; (25) the Entombment; (26) the tympanum here bare but probably once containing the Descent into Hell or the Resurrection; (27) (well preserved) the Incredulity of St. Thomas, taking place in a large room in the midst of a city dwarfed to a disproportionate size, at the gate of which is set a second scene, Our Lord meeting the two disciples on the road to Emmaus; (28) the Ascension; (29) (again well preserved) Pentecost. It is probable that one of the other three remaining spaces was formerly decorated to constitute a series of thirty frescoes. The painter sometimes resorts to the practice of inscribing on scrolls the Biblical sentences uttered by the actors, as in the scene of Peter's denial. He has a pretty way of filling in the apex of the tympanum, a difficult space for a composer, with some piquant little detail, in the Ecce Homo, for instance, a shield with the Roman insignia of S. P. Q. R. (also used on a banner in the Via Dolorosa), another escutcheon in the Espolio, a small, round, barred window in the episode of Pilate washing his hands, and in the Scourging a man leaning forth from an opening to discover what is going on below. Moreover, under each fresco were written appropriate texts from Holy Writ, only in small part preserved, for instance under the Ecce Homo the first verse of the second Psalm: "Quare fremuerunt gentes: et populi meditati sunt inania?" words that are actually applied in Acts, iv, 25, to the Jewish and Gentile maltreatment of Christ. The escutcheon of the bishop Antonio de Veneris that appears in two of the last scenes in the life of Christ simply provides unneeded corroborative evidence that they were executed by Nicolás Francés, for this prelate was diocesan of Leon from 1464 to 1469. Whether it is Antonio de Veneris who is represented in the standing portrait of a mourning bishop superimposed, in larger scale, upon the left of the composition for the Entombment, remains a moot

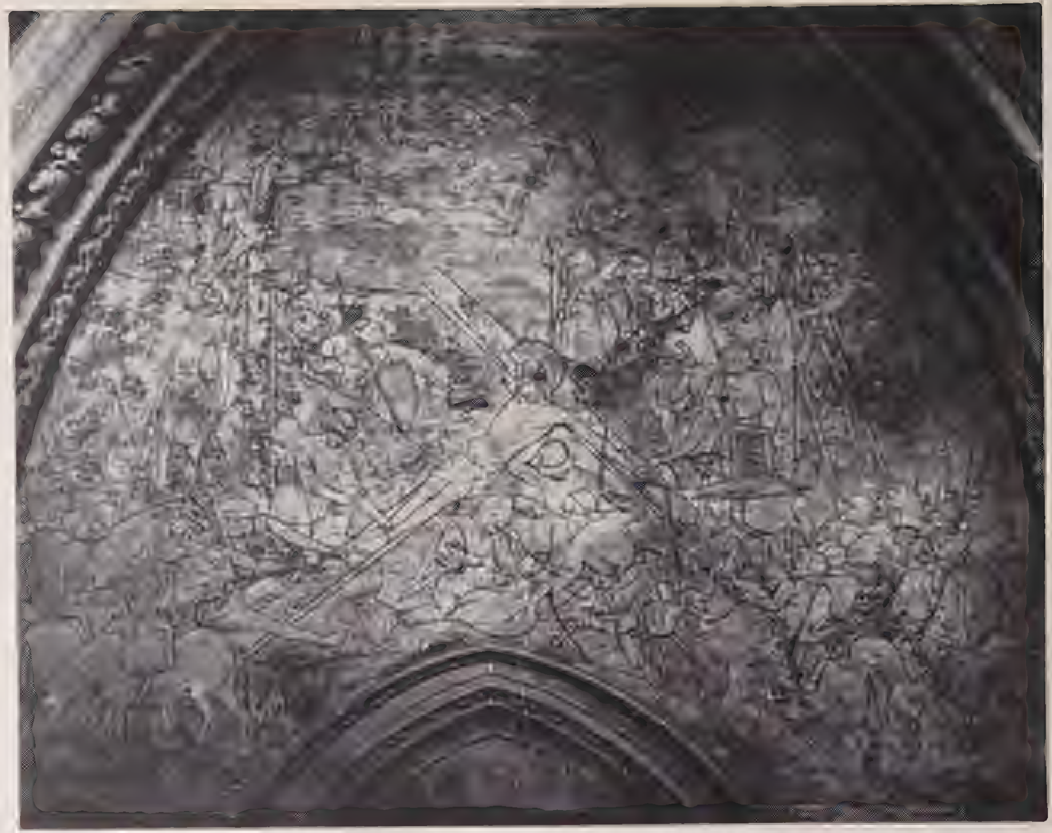

FIG. 346. NICOLÁS FRANCÉS. NAILING TO THE CROSS, CLOISTER OF CATHEDRAL, LEON

(*Photo. Winocio*)

point. Since he is balanced at the right by a large effigy of Death, it might be deduced that he was already deceased and so could not have been painted after his demise by Nicolás Francés who preceded his patron to the grave by a year. The natural conclusion would be that it preserves for us the features of some predecessor of Antonio de Veneris, particularly in view of the fact that Nicolás perhaps put the cart before the horse and began his painting of the cloister with the last scenes of Christ's life and worked towards the events of the infancy where first may be discerned the participation of other hands.[1] It is quite possible, however, that one of Nicolás's assistants subsequently added the portrait, which could thus indeed depict Antonio de Veneris.

In another group of works the documentation is only partial, but stylistic similarity in some instances tends to supply the missing links. Over the altar in that chapel at the end of the north transept of the cathedral of Leon which is now dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Dado but was once under the patronage of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian, there have been attributed to Nicolás frescoes of four large figures of saints under a painted arcade and, above them, of an almost obliterated narrative scene, which may have depicted the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. In 1459 Nicolás here placed nine pieces of stained glass, which are later recorded to have been removed to admit more light when the walls were decorated with painting, so that it has been conjectured that the frescoes as well were by his hand. The arcade bears the escutcheon of the bishop Pedro Cabeza de Vaca (1440[2]–1459). The first three saints are easily recognized as Fabian, Anthony Abbot, and Bartholomew. The other is perhaps St. Lawrence, since he is clad in a deacon's dalmatic and the identifying inscription perhaps spells his name with the initial L lacking; but he seems to carry a sword as attribute and not a gridiron. Gómez-Moreno calls him St. Antoninus, presumably, of the many saints of the name, the martyr of Pamiers, who enjoys a cult at Palencia but who was not conceived as a deacon but as a priest. In a miniature of the

---

[1] If the concluding episodes of the cycle were painted first, Nicolás might have later superimposed upon them the heraldic arms of Antonio de Veneris.

[2] Eubel (*Hierarchia catholica*) so dates the beginning of his episcopacy; Gams (*Series episcoporum*) puts it in 1448.

Nativity of Christ in a choir-book containing the Office of Christmas, now in the archives of S. Isidoro at Leon, what appears to be the initial of the name of Nicolás may be seen on the representation of a chimney, and the style is certainly that of the master. Furthermore, since he is known to have begun designing glass for the cathedral as early as 1451, Gómez-Moreno assigns to him twenty-five rosettes which in groups of three decorate the tops of the aisle windows and which contain seated allegorical figures of the Virtues, Vices, and Sciences, some of them with inscribed scrolls as in the frescoes of the cloister. The greater part, the whole lower section, of each of these windows is modern, consisting of a foliate *motif* that is imitated from a fifteenth century pattern in the upper section. The figures in the rosettes are indisputably ancient and seem to embody the style of the fifteenth century; but even taking into account the different kind of draughtsmanship required for delineation in the medium of glass, I can see nothing in them to connect them with the style of Nicolás, and I should be disposed to place them earlier in the century than his activity.

The paintings that have been attributed to him or his school on purely internal evidence will receive later consideration.

That the internationalism of Master Nicolás Francés has at least an Italian overlay cannot be doubted, and the question at once arises as to where he had come into contact with Italian art. The international types, sometimes attenuated according to the aesthetic canon of the movement, and the settings suggest Gentile da Fabriano. Nicolás's color may now be studied only in the retable; but, although perhaps less warm, it also resembles Gentile's tonality. For these reasons and because of certain parallelisms to the production of Dello Delli, it has ordinarily been supposed that he had learned his craft at near-lying Salamanca. His general Italianism is illustrated even by concrete details. If the allegorical figures in the windows could be proved to be his work, Italy would be the natural source of inspiration for the endowment of Justice with the attribute of swords and of Prudence with a mirror, before these symbols were employed in France. The closest approximation to the very types of Dello is the Virgin of the Nativity in the miniature. The composition also follows that of the panel of the

Birth in the Salamanca retable in general outlines, but perhaps not closely enough to be of significance in view of the similarity of all renderings of this stereotyped theme. Italian fashions would be popular in Leon when, during a period of the activity of Nicolás Francés, the see was administered by bishops who had come from Italy, Juan de Pontibus (1434 or 1437–1440) and Antonio de Veneris (1464–1469). His acquaintance with the achievement of his homonym, Nicholas the Florentine, moreover, is proved by a curious incident. In 1452 he was sent by the cathedral-chapter of Leon to Salamanca to examine Dello Delli's (i. e., Nicholas the Florentine's) rendering of the Last Judgment in order that he might profit by the study for the representation of the same theme which he was commissioned to paint for the cathedral on the traditional place for the subject, the inner wall of the façade. The innate Spanish disaffection for the nude caused the destruction of the fresco in which Nicholas the Frenchman had been stimulated by Dello to experiment in the undraped human figure. If, however, his Italianism was wholly derived from Dello, it is necessary to believe that he was probably already familiar with his production for some time before 1434, the date at which the retable is now generally said to have been complete, so that we should be forced into what is almost a chronological impossibility. Dello could not have arrived in Spain earlier than the beginning of 1433, for on January 26 of that year he caused himself to be registered in the Florentine guild of apothecaries and physicians, in which the painters were included. The only chronological knowledge that we possess in regard to the retable at Salamanca is that it was finished by 1445; and even if Dello betook himself to Spain at the earliest possible date, the beginning of 1433, and began work upon the altarpiece immediately after his arrival, Nicolás Francés of Leon could scarcely, within what remained of 1433 and in 1434, have had time both to learn the Florentine manner from the few pieces that Dello could at that moment have completed, and then himself to execute the vast retable of Leon, so that in the year 1434 it could already be spoken of as a finished and well-known object of art.[1] The chronology would also involve the difficult belief that Nicolás Francés was attracted to the side of Dello the moment that the latter set foot upon Spanish soil or that by some chance he found himself at Salamanca when Dello began to paint. It is perhaps not absolutely impossible that in so short an interval the master of Leon could have acquired the elements of Italianism from Dello and have completed his own work, but the probabilities are all in the other direction. If we reject this explanation, there are the following alternatives. We might first take refuge in the remote possibility that the chronicle which speaks of the altarpiece at Leon was composed after 1434.[1] Or, refusing this forlorn hope, we might guess, since nothing is known of the antecedents of Nicolás Francés or of how long he had been in Leon before 1434,[2] that he had been a companion of Dello in Italy and had journeyed to Spain with him. Or, finally, we may resort to a very different interpretation of his art by abandoning the attempt to trace the Italianism of his early period to Dello and by claiming that he gained his acquaintance with Italian painting through some other, as yet undiscovered, source. We should, in that case, have to close our eyes to the strangeness of the coincidence that two painters were working in the same region at the same time in somewhat the same manner without interinfluence. In general, the origins of the style of Nicolás Francés must be regarded as a knotty and unsolved problem. There is, of course, no chronological objection to deriving the Italian influence in his later works, the frescoes, from Dello; but he does not seem to have utilized the compositions of the Salamanca retable for his mural cycle except perhaps in lifting a trumpeter from the panel of the Via Dolorosa for his own treatment of the episode. No stress can be laid on the fact that both masters employ broad, hilly landscapes dotted with towns for their backgrounds, since this is a general international trait.

---

[1] If the chronicle was composed the year of the tournament, 1434, it is not, of course, necessary to suppose that the writing was completed at the precise date of the tourna-

Although some of the phases of the internationalism of Nicolás Francés correspond to the manner of Gentile da Fa-

---

ment, the fifteen days before and the fifteen days after the feast of St. James, July 25, so that we may grant to Nicolás Francés at least the rest of the year for finishing the retable.

[1] See above, p. 262.

[2] We know only that he was already in Leon sometime during the episcopate of Alfonso de Cusanca, 1424–1437.

briano and of Dello Delli, yet certain characteristics would appear to prove that he had seen the works also of other Italian masters. Many of his personages, particularly the small separate effigies of saints built into the episcopal throne, have the orthodox, slender physiques of the internationalists of Italy and the rest of Europe, but not infrequently, as especially in the frescoes and in the Presentation of the retable, he reveals a predilection for massive bulk of form, accentuated by broad masses of drapery, which recalls Giotto and his Florentine followers of the Trecento even more vividly than do the works of Dello Delli.

Whereas in the frescoes, because of their later date and because of their function as mural decoration, Nicolás Francés has evolved a nobler and more monumental manner, the retable presents us with the international style at its most typical, modified only by the occasional tendency to Giottesque breadth of form and drapery. International *genre* is peculiarly abundant. Contemporary costume, for instance, is almost everywhere employed; utterly charming examples, as in Pisanello, may be seen in the youthful masculine and feminine saints now composing the decoration of the bishop's throne. The narrative panels betray, to an almost pathological degree, the international passion for introducing episodical detail, usually embodied by Nicolás in figures of a scale of size much reduced from that of the principal personages. In the scene of the translation of Santiago's body, one pilgrim is adding to a heap of stones at the foot of a wayside cross, according to an old folk-practice; another is making an offering of money on the altar of the saint in a church in the right foreground; in a clearing amidst the woods a flock of sheep is pastured by a shepherd and a shepherdess who has a curious local headdress; a second church, elaborate enough to be a not very exact symbol of the cathedral of Leon, rises at the centre behind the forest; and the holy relics are borne upon a characteristically Spanish ox-cart, such as may still be seen today in Galicia, every detail of the visible wheel of which is rendered with the international scrupulousness in such matters. The panel depicting the visit of Alfonso III[1]

---

[1] I retain Sánchez Cantón's designation of the sovereign which is derived from the life of St. Froilán in the Leon manuscript; but since it is not established whether Froilán

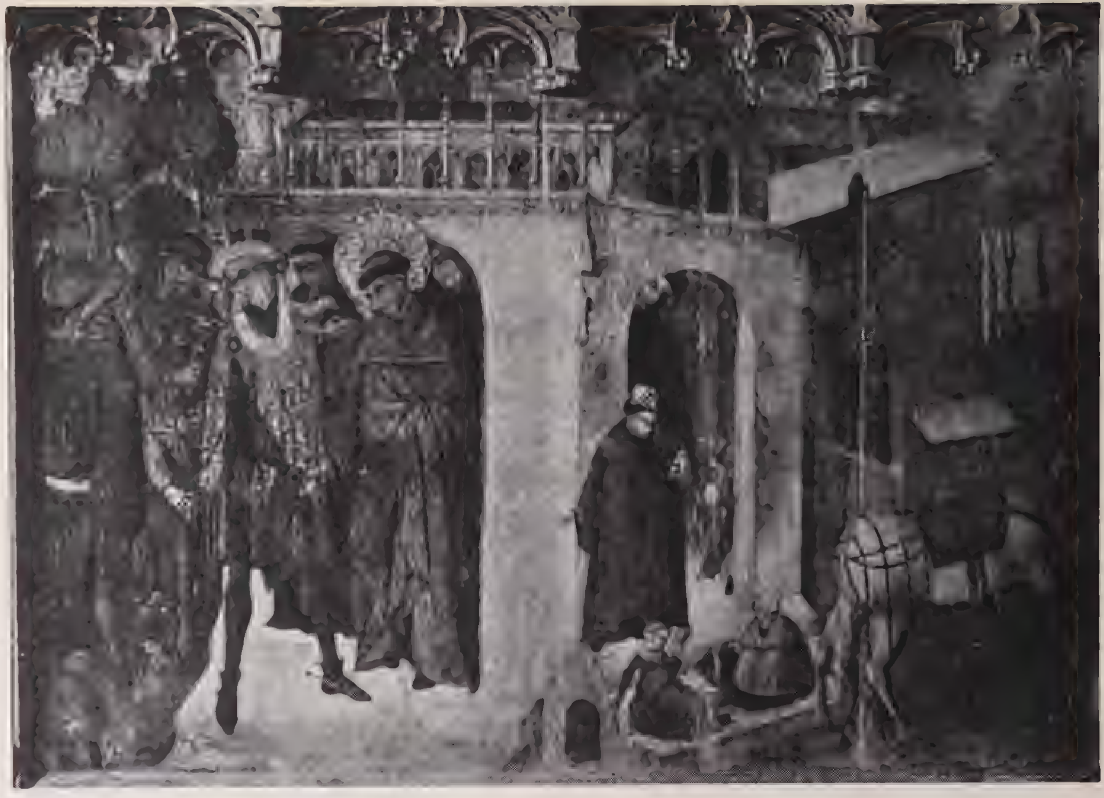

Fig. 349. NICOLÁS FRANCÉS. VISIT OF ALFONSO III TO ST. FROILÁN. CATHEDRAL, LEON

(From "Maestre Nicolás Francés, pintor" by F. J. Sánchez Cantón)

to St. Froilán (Fig. 349) is crammed with dwarfed scenes and personages from popular life — a minstrel playing a timbrel within the door at the right of the church (repeated in the cloistral fresco of the Marriage of the Virgin), beneath him on the steps two seated peasant women with their impedimenta from the market, one of them spinning, and at the extreme lower left of the picture even a piece of drastic Gothic obscenity. Indeed, the right half of the panel is wholly given up to an episode of *genre*, two monks receiving a mule-driver whose beasts of burden are laden with gifts for the monastery and who is accompanied by a dog catching fleas. A couple of chattering old cronies help to fill the background even of the solemn scene of St. Froilán's episcopal coronation, and two dogs are fighting for a bone in the foreground. Nicolás profits by the usual nimble imagination of an international artist, and nowhere more so than in the widely varied postures and expressions of the holy personages from the frame. The effigies on the uprights of Catalan altarpieces seem monotonous in comparison. Nicolás at times resorts even to the profile and back positions. The gamut that he is able to run is illustrated by the contrast between the figure of Gabriel, almost worthy of Fra Angelico in its loveliness, and the grouchy old St. Cyprian, a form that forecasts the harsh caricatures that we shall meet in the frescoes. The gold, engraved with a delicate pattern, which is different in the Santiago panel from that used in the other scenes, everywhere takes the place of the sky and is a sign of the period; against it are scattered the petty and more than usually pretty bits of international landscape of buildings and shrubbery. The compositions, especially the visit of Alfonso III to St. Froilán, have much of the customary international, haphazard quality. In the works of Nicolás Francés, in distinction from those of Dello, the superficial naturalism of the international school

---

belonged to the ninth or to the tenth century, the king's identity must remain in doubt. Some critics have distinguished two Leonese bishops named Froilán, one of the ninth and the other of the tenth century. A royal visit to Froilán is related neither in the Leon manuscript nor in the Acta published by the Bollandists, and it is conceivable that Nicolás Francés intended the scene rather as the saint's visit to the king, an event described in his legend. The panel possibly provides another instance of a definite mediaeval meaning in what seems to us *genre:* the prominence of the beasts of burden may have been suggested by the story of the ass for which Froilán had an affection but which was killed by a wolf that the saint afterward miraculously brought to repentance.

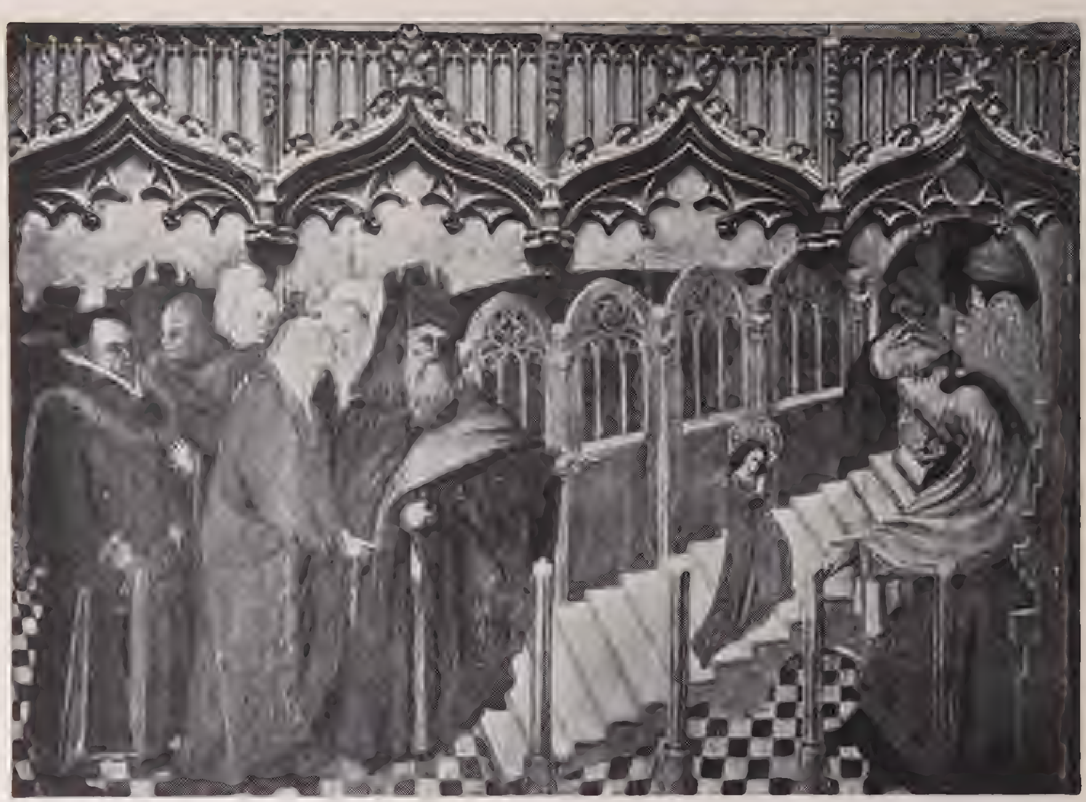

Fig. 350. NICOLÁS FRANCÉS. PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN. CATHEDRAL, LEON

(From "Maestre Nicolás Francés, pintor" by F. J. Sánchez Cantón)

does not extend to a concern with correct perspective or foreshortening. No more attempt, for instance, than in many another picture of this epoch is made to foreshorten the tiling upon which stand the saints built into the bishop's throne.

The endeavor of Sánchez Cantón to relate one or two productions of Nicolás Francés to definite examples of the contemporary style of France cannot be approved, for the compositions of the Presentation in the retable (Fig. 350) and of the Nativity in the miniature are even further removed from those of the Hours of the Duc de Berry, to which he likens them, than would be expected from the communism of the international style. There are not, as he states, the same number of steps in the stairways of the two Presentations, but fifteen in the Spanish version and fourteen in the French; and even if the number were identical, it would have no significance, when the rest of the composition is so different. The diminutive size of many of the subordinate figures has been taken as evidence of an acquaintance with Teutonic art, but the convention of a varying scale of height is not confined to mediaeval Germany. In view of the probable French origins of the international movement, it was inevitable that Nicolás, like other internationalists, should betray some Franco-Flemish traits, especially the use of Burgundian costume; but the chief national impress upon his style, besides the Italian, is Spanish. It is the superimposition of reminiscences of Italy and of Gentile upon international qualities that leads Mayer to compare Nicolás Francés to the international painter of the court of Burgundy, Melchior Broederlam, but the comparison would be juster if applied to Broederlam and Dello Delli, for the pictures at Leon possess a Spanish character that is absent both from the paintings at Salamanca and Broederlam's panels at Dijon. The international cult of splendor produces the particolored garments of the king and his courtier in Alfonso III's visit to St. Froilán, the ostentatious dalmatics of the deacons who busy themselves with the oxen of Santiago's cart, and the practice of weaving gold into some of the brocades, as in the case of the Jewish ecclesiastic in the lower right corner of the Presentation or of several of the small saints from the frame. In the panel that depicts the two episodes of St. Froilán's trial of his vocation through putting live coals into his mouth and the miraculous entry of the doves into the same cavity, the bird that the legend describes as flaming red is painted as of gold. This splendor, however, is accentuated to a Spanish magnificence in the panel of St. Froilán's consecration, one of the first of those many representations, in the peninsula, of episcopal coronations in which the native love of formally grouped ceremonies and gorgeously brocaded vestments found vent. Even some of the acolytes, in addition to three of the prelates, are conspicuous in habiliments of brocaded gold, and the ritualistic basins represented as used in the function are likewise made of this precious metal. What much less grand and stately functions the Italians are likely to make of such themes may be seen in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's representation of the consecration of St. Nicholas, now in the Uffizi.

The frescoes of the cloister reveal to us a man who has added much to his stature as an artist in the years that have intervened since he executed the retable. The demands of mural decoration will account for a great deal in the change, for the increased monumentality and for the soberer mood, but not for everything. He almost deserves here the title of a great painter, and the distance of merit that lies between him and the frescoists of Italy in the middle of the Quattrocento is not incapable of being spanned. Not only does he apply to a larger number of figures the tendency to massive forms and broad draperies which we have observed in the altarpiece and which was perhaps remotely inherited from the Giottesque tradition, but he has abandoned the piecemeal compositions of the international style for compact and unified arrangements. Above all, he has developed the proclivity for episodical *genre* betrayed by the retable into serious and true drama. Almost inevitably his unfamiliarity with the homogeneous and solid kind of composition that he has newly and laboriously evolved precipitates him into certain defects the opposite of those occasioned by his membership in the international movement. In contrast to the looseness of his former work, he is now likely to dispose his actors in a perhaps excessively symmetrical order, as especially in the scene of the imposition of the thorns and the mocking. For the sake of building up his figures into a dense and monumental mass, he overcrowds the space, so that sometimes the chief personages and the principal theme do not emerge with sufficient emphasis from the throng. A flagrant example may be seen in the tympanum depicting the washing of Pilate's hands. A partial, though not adequate, antidote is the occasional device of drawing the prominent actors in larger scale than the others, a lingering reminiscence of Nicolás's international habit of dwarfing the representation of episodical *genre*. In the tympanum just mentioned Pilate is exaggerated to a size greater than that of Our Lord, who already is bigger than the other forms; but even so the story is somewhat lost in the crowd. Furthermore, having once arrived at a compact sort of composition, he inclines here and there towards monotony by repeating it. The six scenes of the Passion from the Espolio through the Via Dolorosa are much the same, although the rigid symmetry of a balancing about a central axis is abandoned in the section containing the washing of Pilate's hands; and it is not sufficient apology to urge that it is difficult to introduce variation into the representation of a series of events so similar in character.

On the other hand, several of the compositions are marked by a high degree of originality, and by an originality that emanates partly from Nicolás's new-found dramatic power. In the nailing to the cross he resorts to a trick, which dates back at least to Giotto, as a substitute for what the moving picture can at the present day achieve for us. Unable to represent, like the cinematograph, the body of Christ passing through the various stages of the Crucifixion (the place of which is here taken by the nailing), he shows us the thieves in two of these other stages, so that we may understand with our imaginations that the same tortures await the Saviour. The thief at the right is already suspended on his cross, and his fellow at the left is being pulled up a ladder by a rope around his neck to the top of another cross in order that he may be hanged from it by cords — an episode that stands for the more horrible suffering to be inflicted on Christ when the cross to which He is attached by *nails* shall be lifted up and jammed into the ground. The fastening of the Saviour to the cross is managed in the same kinetic mode: one hand is already impaled, through the other the nail is in the process of being pounded, and a Jack Ketch ominously stretches forth another nail towards the feet. The true naturalism into which the *genre* of the retable is now often exalted is embodied in the intentness with which a group of soldiers cast lots for the seamless garment and in the dramatically powerful touch of the executioners (one of whom is actually astride the cross) tugging hard at the ropes to bind the feet and one hand of Our Lord to the wood until the spikes shall be driven home. The serene beauty of Christ's body is effectively contrasted with the brutality of His tormentors and the mob. Movement is also imported into the Deposition. The Saviour's corpse is just being lowered from the top of the cross, that of the thief at the left is suspended, half-way down, by a rope around the waist, and at the right the other thief's cadaver already lies upon the ground while two men excavate for it an improvised grave. The last episode is dramatically stressed by the fact that one of the holy women turns her head to look at the digging, much in the same fashion as El Greco emphasizes the boring of the hole for the nail in the cross in his Espolio. Nicolás has introduced into the Deposition several dramatically and impressively posed figures — the agonized kneeling Virgin, the St. Nicodemus or St. Joseph of Arimathaea who leans over the top of the cross to let down the sacred form, and the bodies of Christ and especially of the thief at the left utterly relaxed by death. The composition of the Entombment is likewise extremely original and effective. The usual crowd in which Nicolás delights, here completely filling the space, gradually slopes down to the limp body of Our Lord in the foreground as it is let slip into the sepulchre by St. John. For the Presentation of Our Lady he uses a composition varied from that of the retable.

As one walks round the cloister, he can stop almost anywhere and find memorable dramatic details. The horn-blower at the head of the procession in the Via Dolorosa (perhaps imported from Dello's rendering of the theme), impervious to the tragedy of which he is a part, forms a grim contrast to the sorrow and suffering of the Saviour and to the naturalistically conceived man who carries a ladder as an instrument for the Passion by inserting his head between two rounds. The ability of Nicolás Francés as a dramatist is often concentrated in the postures of his actors, notably in the scourgers of Christ and especially in the coarse ruffian who stands forth at the left of the group. The broad-robed Jewish spectators at either side of this central group are admirably conceived and drawn, and indeed the Flagellation, less crowded than was Nicolás's wont and set in the midst of a beautifully arranged and painted Gothic hall, is perhaps the masterpiece of the series. Another striking figure is the man who leans his face against a spear in the left foreground of the Ecce Homo. The naturalistic touches, such as the sea of curious faces peering in through the windows at the washing of Pilate's hands, assist the drama. In a countless number of instances, as sometimes in Dello's productions, the naturalism assumes the form of a Gothic caricaturing of Our Lord's persecutors that is possibly most brutal in the Ecce Homo. Another conspicuous example is the supercilious and spectacled scribe behind Pilate in the episode of the hand-washing. But Nicolás does not confine caricature to those whom he desires to depict as evil. Not knowing through his own experimentation and not having learned from the Flemings how to avoid monotony in his many personages by delineating character convincingly, he resorts to the only mode of strong characterization inculcated by the tradition in which he had been trained, namely caricature; and so, for instance, he disfigures and distorts the countenances of some of the Apostles in the Incredulity of St. Thomas.

The four saints in the chapel of Nuestra Señora del Dado in the cathedral itself, whether they be his or a pupil's, are good examples of the broad monumentality that he superimposed upon the Leonese aspects of the international style.

Furthermore, in the two bays at either side of the easternmost bay of the *trasaltar* (the bay that contains the tomb of King Ordoño II) are two frescoes, which, though not documented, should be ascribed to Nicolás Francés or his immediate following. The one that is closest to Nicolás himself, although execution by an assistant is not categorically to be excluded, is found in the bay on the Gospel side, an Ecce Homo, in which, however, the figure of Christ is a substitution of the nineteenth century. At the lower left, on the outside of the arcaded enclosure that curiously surrounds the composition even to the placing of two colonnettes in front of the actors, is a kneeling figure of a nun, perhaps the donor, in the dwarfed proportions of international portraiture and accompanied by a scroll with the beginning of the twelfth verse of the first chapter of Lamentations, a verse that the Church applies to the Passion of Our Lord. Although the composition is not identical with that of the same theme in the frescoes of the cloister, it falls into two symmetrical halves; and the general style absolutely reproduces Nicolás's later manner, as revealed by the cloister, in types, draperies, a free resort to harsh caricature, in a liberal indulgence in the strange Burgundian costumes and headdresses of the international movement, and in a substitution of scrolls for speech. On the extreme ends of the wall of the bay, as it curves out towards the binding pillars, there is introduced on either side a touch of *genre* in a figure of a woman peering through an opening at the scene, like the form that leans out of a window to watch the Flagellation as depicted in the cloister. One of the actors at the left in the upper *loggia* in which some of the throng are ensconced still retains the gold of his brocaded garment (if it be not rather a result of repainting).

The fresco of the Deposition in the bay on the Epistle side I should be disposed to attribute to a follower of Nicolás maintaining a now antiquated style until *c.* 1475 when the new Flemish fashions were already flourishing in the peninsula; but the greater sophistication may, instead, be due to the palpable and extensive retouching. The moment chosen for representation is not that of the fresco in the cloister, but the sacred body has already been lowered and is mourned over by the Virgin, the holy women,[1] and St. John, so that the theme is really a Pietà. The crowds of the cloister have been banished; in the background are only two figures, probably Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, who are the forms that most vividly suggest the types of Nicolás Francés. The artist has set his composition in a painted frame, consisting of two broad pilasters, each divided into two niches one above the other. In the two upper niches he has placed Jeremiah and Isaiah, holding in their hands the scrolls that Nicolás so much affects. Beneath Jeremiah he has hung the purse of Judas foretold by this Prophet;[1] and beneath Isaiah, a towel or napkin alluding to some prophecy of his interpreted as a reference to such an object in the Passion.[2] Oddly modern is the dramatic or rather melodramatic detail of the superscription I N R I depicted in the lower right corner as fallen to the ground.

---

[1] I cannot agree with Gómez-Moreno that the form *Iacomi* (here perhaps spelled *Iacome*) in the lettering of the halo of St. Mary Iacobi, the woman at the extreme left, may indicate that the painter was an Italian, and I do not believe that he would any longer hold to this opinion enunciated in his Catalogue of Leon. Both the forms *Iacopus* and *Iacomus* were current in Vulgar Latin (C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, Boston, 1907, article 329); and the Castilian *Jaime* is evidence of the presence of the *m* form in Spain, as the Italian *Giacomo* reveals it in Italy. Gómez-Moreno himself recognizes the *m* form at Seville.

In the chapel on the ambulatory formerly dedicated to Sts. Cosmas and Damian but now to the Virgen del Camino, the red-clad and red-capped effigies of these canonized physicians frescoed under two blind arches are somewhat rude, anonymous creations of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century rather than authentic works of Nicolás Francés. Gómez-Moreno is apparently right in his surmise that two panels in the same chapel which represent the same saints and are of a shape and size to fit the arches were painted to cover the frescoes at a time when their style appeared archaic; but the lapse of years could not have been more than a century, for the panels, as we shall see in a subsequent volume, are the production of an artist belonging to the circle of Fernando Gallego.

Of the undocumented works outside of the city of Leon that have been ascribed to Nicolás Francés, the most important are the superbly preserved painted wings that enclose a retable sculptured with small scenes from the Passion divided by effigies of Prophets in the chapel (built 1430–1435) of Fernando López de Saldaña, *contador mayor* of John II of Castile, on the south side of the nave in the church of the Poor Clares at Tordesillas, southwest of Valladolid. The eight panels on the exterior of the wings, disposed in groups of four in two tiers on each wing, depict the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Epiphany, Massacre of the Innocents, the Purification, the young Christ in the Temple, and, between these last two subjects, a composition that needs a word of comment, for here the artist has interrupted the regular succession of events in the life of the Saviour to stop and depict with much charm, as if it represented the home-life of the Christ Child, the theme that the international cultivators of the pretty so often repeated, whether they lived in Germany, Verona, Catalonia, or Valencia — the Virgin and her infant Son in a fenced garden entertained by an orchestra of angels. The upper row on the interior of the wings is assigned to the four Evangelists, conceived as mediaeval scholars sitting in little alcoves of the unreal architecture of the international movement. In front of the inner one of the Evangelists on the right wing kneels the donor in the customary dwarfed proportions and dressed as a knight. The subjects of the lower interior row are the Descent into Hell, the *Noli me tangere*, the Incredulity of St. Thomas, and the Ascension. Two small extra wings protect the carved Gothic canopy or *remate* crowning the sculpture and are painted on both sides with a pair of Prophets. The gold backgrounds are incised with a *motif* of oak-leaf.

---

[1] Matthew XXVII, 9 and 10. In the Vulgate and majority of texts of the New Testament the Prophet is designated as Jeremiah, but in some texts the name is emended to Zechariah, the Prophet in whom the reference really occurs (XI, 12 and 13).

[2] The object looks like a towel and would then be connected with Christ's washing of the Apostles' feet or Pilate's washing of his hands; but it may be the napkin of the Entombment and is so understood by Miss King (Notes to Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, I, 165). The inscription held by Isaiah does not help in the problem, for it contains the first part of the seventh verse of the fifty-third chapter of his prophecy, *Oblatus est quia ipse voluit.*

The attribution to Nicolás Francés is, in the opinion of the present writer, if not certain, at least highly probable. The types, methods, and general style approach identity. Not that difficulties are lacking in the way of the attribution. Inasmuch as the polyptych would scarcely have been placed in the chapel until that edifice was finished, it would seem to be dated shortly after 1435, the year of the chapel's completion, and therefore would be subsequent to the retable of Leon; but it exhibits more evidence of the master's training and so would naturally be thought earlier. The types are closer to those of Gentile da Fabriano, and nevertheless one discerns more clearly than at Leon also the traces of a knowledge of Franco-Flemish models which, although, as we have seen, they constituted no very decisive factor in Nicolás's artistic make-up, yet were the stock-in-trade of all international painters. The chief extant products of Franco-Flemish painting are the miniatures, and in the utterly delightful delicacy of workmanship in the Tordesillas panels one feels that the author had by no means as yet forgotten his student days in a school of illumination. An exquisite instance is the rendering of Our Lady's wimple in the garden scene. But the difference in the retable of Leon is explicable on the ground of the broader manner demanded by the much larger panels, and the array of stylistic analogies in the wings of the Tordesillas monument to the retable of Leon is certainly very convincing. In addition to the most significant parallelism, that of the physical types, we need here to enumerate only a few others that will call attention to some of the qualities of the Tordesillas altar. The postures of the Evangelists are as pleasantly varied, one from another, as those of the saints now built into the episcopal throne at Leon; the pair on the left wing turn their backs upon us, a position that Nicolás affects in the saints of the throne and also later in his frescoes. Two of the Evangelists are accompanied by bits of *genre* embodied in diminutive forms in which the similarity in mood and type to the corresponding details at Leon is more exact even than in other factors of the altarpiece. Under the cubicle of the inner Evangelist on the left wing there may be seen a dog-fight and a rat (or is what looks like a rat really a pair of shoes?), and from the outer Evangelist on the right wing the attention is distracted by a scuffle between two boys or rather men of the habitual dwarfed proportions. The pieces of landscape and little painted edifices are relieved against the gold backgrounds in quite as lovely a fashion, and the panels also sparkle with many beautiful brocades the varied hues of which are accented with gold interweavings. The tonality of color is likewise that of the Leon retable. One of the most persuasive proofs that Nicolás was the author of the Tordesillas wings is that there were few, if any, other masters of real distinction working then in northwest Spain in a manner so close to his, and the Tordesillas wings are obviously the creation of a master of distinction. Although in the Descent into Hell the anatomy of the nudes is not defined, yet in the group of an executioner seizing a woman's child in the Massacre of the Innocents the dramatic power of the Leon frescoes is already prophesied. The painter wields the brush of the miniaturist, which he largely remains in these panels, with entrancing delicacy, whether we look at the lovely little blue and red winged angels above the stable of the Nativity or at the general charm of his types, as particularly the Magdalene of the *Noli me tangere*. There is no evidence of an imitation of Dello's compositions in the Salamanca retable. The sculpture of the altar, in a rather Flemish style, can scarcely have been carved by Nicolás, whom, however, Rodríguez de Lena's chronicle states to have been at least in so far a sculptor as to have made for the tournament a wooden figure of a herald (*faraute*) probably as a signpost to point to the knights the direction in which they should go. Gómez-Moreno[1] guesses that the author of the carvings may have been an architect and sculptor active at Leon in the middle of the century, a Master Jusquín, who, since Jusquín seems to be a Hispanicization of Joosken, was probably a Fleming or a Dutchman and whom he thinks is conceivably identical with a Joosken van Utrecht connected in some way in 1429 with the glass of the cathedral of Toledo.

The honeycomb-vaulted niches at the base of the *mudéjar* roof in the *capilla mayor* (perhaps once the hall of a palace) in this same church of Sta. Clara are painted with forty-three large half-lengths of saints, the work of a pupil rather than of Nicolás Francés himself. The general craftsmanship is less expert, and the gold backgrounds are diapered with a less delicate pattern than in the López de Saldaña altarpiece. There is no evidence as yet of an interest in the new style of Flemish painting, for the kind of Flemish costume worn by such a saint as Catherine was a commonplace of the international style before the definite evolution of the Belgian school with the Van Eycks and the circle of Tournai. If Bernardine of Siena is in truth one of the saints depicted, the series of paintings would have to be dated after his canonization in 1450. The *mudéjar* roof itself may well be a production of the fourteenth century, and the frieze containing the paintings an addition of the fifteenth. If Lampérez[2] (and he himself is doubtful) is right in discerning on the soffit of one of the corner beams of this frieze the *ristre* or lance-rest, an heraldic emblem of John II, then at least the architectural framework of the paintings must have been done before his death in 1454; and although the paintings may have been executed subsequently to the framework, yet their style makes 1450–1454 not unlikely limits for their execution.

---

[1] *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, V (1911–1912), 63–66. At Toledo, the name is spelt Gusquín. The hypothetical identification of the Leon Joosken with the Toledo Joosken van Utrecht has recently received some little support from Díaz-Jiménez's publication of Leonese documents (*Revista de archivos*, XLV, 1924), in one of which (p. 435) a *Gusquín de Olanda* is mentioned in 1420 as a glass merchant.

[2] *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones*, V (1911–1912), 583.

Another field for the activity of Nicolás Francés and his workshop was the town of Villalpando and the surrounding region, south of Leon, in the modern province of Zamora. The church of S. Miguel at Villalpando contains the lamentably deteriorated remains of a retable of St. Michael not unworthy of the master himself. Four scenes from the legend of the archangel and the effigies of Sts. Peter(?) and Fabian(?) now constitute an altarpiece at the end of the north aisle. One of the scenes is the combat of angels and demons. A second depicts the shooting of the bull in the Monte Gargano episode, and the third panel may embody another stage in the same episode, the clerical procession to the sacred spot, or it may be the procession of Pope Gregory at the time of the apparition of St. Michael to stay the pestilence. The fourth and rarely represented subject is the miraculous carting away of the two rocks from the place where the church of the archangel was to be erected at Mont St. Michel in France. Two further effigies of saints from the same original retable, Sebastian and Andrew, have been built in at the sides of the high altar. The backgrounds are throughout of gold. In the panel of the shooting, the man levelling his bow at the bull and the other who is preparing his weapon vie with the best of the impressively imagined and executed figures in the frescoes at Leon. The church of Nuestra Señora del Templo at Villalpando, where two panels in the manner of Nicolás, a Circumcision and a Death of the Virgin, have been reported as set into an altar, is now a theatre, and, despite the most extensive and importunate inquiries at my visit to the town, I was unable to discover what has become of them.

At Tapioles, just west of Villalpando, another pair of panels incorporated in the walls of the Camarín de la Virgen in the parish church and depicting the Circumcision and Presentation of Christ are the work of a rustic imitator of Nicolás. The room in which the Circumcision is conceived as occurring opens through a door to a gold sky; but the door of the Presentation unfolds to a landscape of so developed a character that it would date the picture after rather than before 1450. In neither panel, however, is the perspective of the architectural background correct, and there is as yet no real token of an acquaintance with the style that Flanders in the second half of the century was exporting into Spain. The draperies in the Tapioles paintings consist very generally of gilded brocades.

The high altar of the church of S. Félix at Villalobos, north of Villalpando, is recorded to have been surmounted by a retable that contained two strata of paintings from the fifteenth century — a number of panels belonging to the school of Nicolás Francés and four panels of the school of Fernando Gallego. The retable has long since been dismantled and its parts dispersed; even the church has now been destroyed. The only pieces of the retable that I know are three of the four compartments of the second stratum in the Collection of the Duquesa de Parcent (formerly the Iturbe Collection) at Madrid, representing St. Felix distributing his goods to the poor, arrested, and dragged by a team of horses. They are countrified works of the later fifteenth century, deriving distantly from the style that was disseminated in the provinces of Salamanca and Zamora by Fernando Gallego and yet with the eventual Flemish origins of Fernando's manner expunged in favor of and by a dull and thorough, indigenous provincialism. Their manner, indeed, is close enough to that of Juan Flamenco, if he be the author of the panels from the life of the Baptist in the Prado belonging to Fernando Gallego's school, to justify an attribution to him, except that the Parcent series are even ruder. Tormo, in his Catalogue of the Iturbe Collection, declares that the composition for St. Felix's dragging appears to be imitated from the Master of St. George's panel in the Louvre depicting the same punishment of St. George; but the partial resemblance seems to be fortuitous, occasioned by the parallel themes. Gómez-Moreno, who saw the retable before its demolishment, reports that it included also a series of panels treating additional episodes from St. Felix's life and other themes and executed by a follower of Nicolás Francés. Some of them once found their way into the Meersmann Collection at Granada, but a letter from that city informs me that they have subsequently been sold, and I have not been able to trace them further. I am acquainted, therefore, with this earlier stratum only through the single illustration published by Gómez-Moreno in his *Catálogo monumental* of the province of Zamora. The scene depicted is St. Felix's trial, and the style is manifestly that of a satellite of Nicolás Francés who is not too highly gifted and revels particularly in imitating his master's habit of caricature.

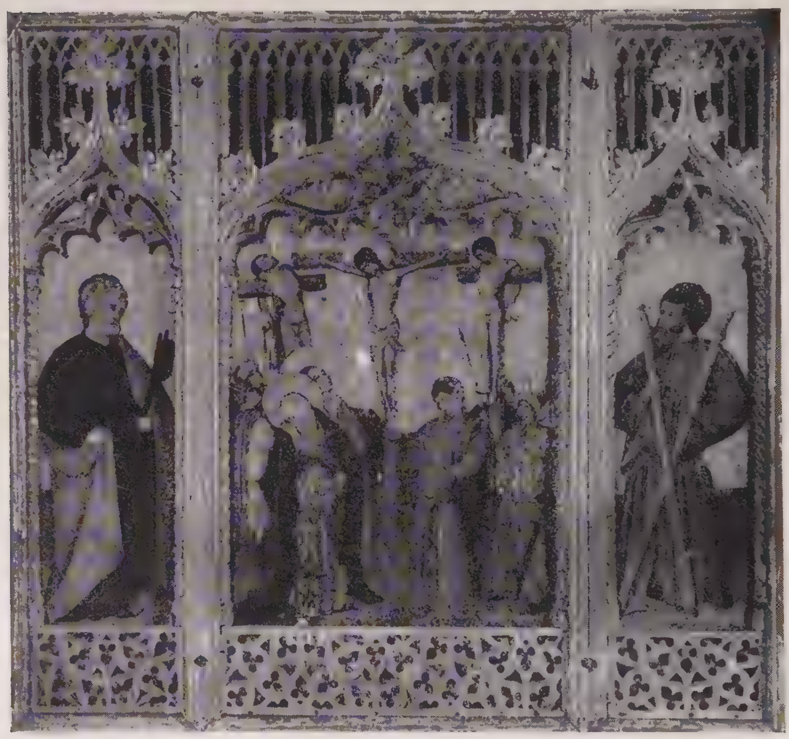

Fig. 351. NICOLÁS FRANCÉS. CRUCIFIXION.
PARCENT COLLECTION, MADRID

(Courtesy of the Duchess of Parcent)

The Parcent Collection, however, does contain a picture (Fig. 351) that was painted by Nicolás Francés, a triptych representing in the centre the Crucifixion and on the wings Sts. Peter and Andrew, perhaps once parts of a large altarpiece, since the original frame, which is preserved, belongs to the class employed by Nicolás and his followers for retables. The types are absolutely those of the master, long-waisted, short-legged, and (except in the three forms upon the crosses) reminiscent of Giottesque amplitudes. Still recalling the origins in Italian and French internationalism, they are limned with the delicacy of the illuminators with whom the international painters had such close affiliations. Two of the figures are clad in brocades like those of Tordesillas. The fineness of the workmanship proclaims the hand of Nicolás himself.

We must further assign to Nicolás and his shop a large retable that is now in the possession of Don Raimundo Ruiz at Madrid and is reported to have come from a church in the province of Leon.[1] The section least well executed and least likely to embody the master's handiwork is, curiously enough, the large central panel of the enthroned Madonna and Child encompassed by musical angels. Above this theme, in the central section of the altarpiece, is depicted the Assumption, which in turn is capped by the Crucifixion. From the iconography of the Assumption, the painter, like Donatello on the Brancacci tomb at Naples, excludes the earthly participants and represents only the Virgin soaring aloft surrounded by angelic flights. The panels of the lateral sections, as also the Assumption and Crucifixion, resemble the compartments of the high altar of Leon in that they are broader than they are high and in that the wooden frame of each at the top takes the form of a series of small arches (in this instance, three) similar in their figuration to those of Leon. The three panels of the left lateral section are devoted to the life of St. Francis. The lowest depicts him dragged bound before the Sultan; the second, Innocent III's dream of St. Francis supporting the falling church and his resultant confirmation of the Order (Fig. 352); and the uppermost, the saint's reception of the stigmata. In the scene of the dream the Pope's head and chest emerge from a heavily curtained bed the structure of which resembles the Evangelists' cubicles at Tordesillas; and indeed this panel is one of the parts the attribution of which to Nicolás himself is no indignity to the master. The whole retable teems with the international *genre* in which Nicolás so charmingly revelled, and much of this episodic detail is almost necessary in order to stretch out the themes to the breadth required by the compartments. In the scene before the Sultan, for instance, the oriental accoutrement of the potentate and his court has obviously given many moments of pleasure to the painter; a blackamoor dwarf is pulling St. Francis along by his Franciscan cord; and at the left, one of the henchmen is about to strike another friar. Under Innocent III's bed lurks a dog. The landscape of the reception of the stigmata bristles with animal life and is filled out with various human beings stricken with wonderment at the miracle, a shepherd veiling his face with his cloak, a hermit prostrate in awe, and a layman pushed on by a friar to view the prodigy and shielding his eyes with his hand in order to see the better. The three compartments at the right contain the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ and the proclamation to the shepherds, and the Purification. The Gabriel in the Annunciation and the tiara-crowned Father despatching the dove of the Holy Spirit to the Virgin in the midst of golden rays are again beneath the standard of Nicolás's execution, but there is ample compensation in the *genre* of the little red-clad angel drawing up a bucket to a flower-decked balcony. Likewise in the Nativity much is made, according to Nicolás's international diffusiveness, of the episode of St. Joseph bringing in straw for the Infant's bed or for the beasts whose appetite is obviously featured. The Purification is expanded to cover the given space by the addition of many supernumeraries. In all the narrative scenes settings of buildings against the delicate foliate design of the gold backgrounds conform absolutely to the corresponding details of the retables of Leon and Tordesillas and also witness to Nicolás's piquant and lovely architectural imagination. The central part of the predella displays two serenading angels ranged about a piece that has been cut out, perhaps a tabernacle; its other sections consist of seventeen half-lengths of alternating Prophets and Apostles as agreeably varied in type and posture as their fellows on the episcopal throne at Leon.

---

[1] The Catalogue of the Barcelona Exposition (third edition) gives the actual town as La Bañeza.

A very late work of the school of Nicolás Francés has found its way to this country, a Crucifixion from the town of El Cubo de Don Sancho, south of Zamora, close to the border of the province of Salamanca, now in the collection of John Nicholas

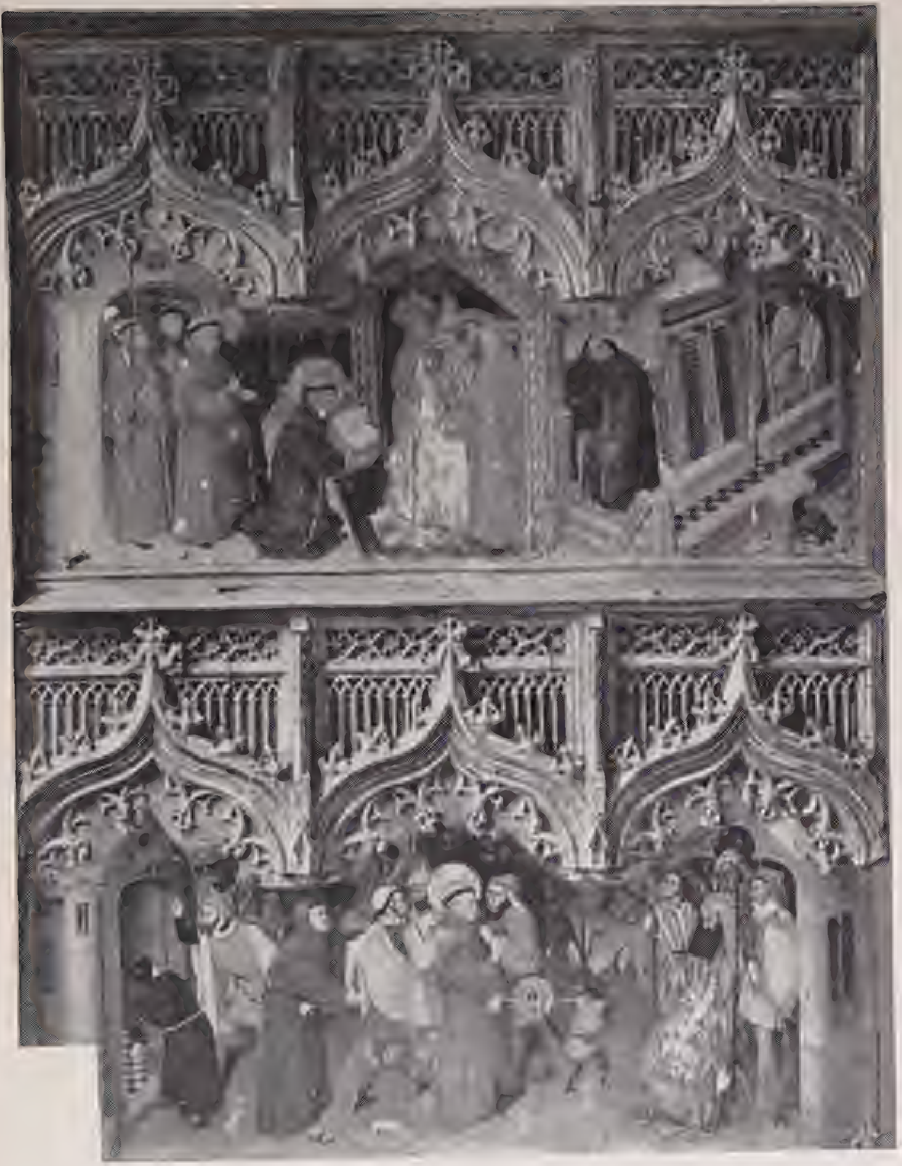

FIG. 352. NICOLÁS FRANCÉS AND ASSISTANTS. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS, SECTION OF RETABLE. RAIMUNDO RUIZ COLLECTION, MADRID

(Photo. Moreno)

Brown at Providence, R. I. (Fig. 353).[1] The earmarks of the master's instruction are everywhere visible, for instance in the types, in the subjection of the horsemen at the right to caricature, in the international character of the landscape, and in the dwarfing of the two soldiers who fight for the seamless garment to the diminutive size of the figures of *genre* that Nicolás so often affected (although the garment itself is strangely not represented). One of the factors that indicates an advanced moment in the second half of the fifteenth century is the bold pattern of the brocades. The facial traits of the Virgin, St. John, and the good thief suggest that this tardy follower of Nicolás's tradition may have admired the productions in the new Flemish fashions which had already claimed the allegiance of the majority of artists in western Spain.

To the school of Leon should be ascribed also a panel representing the ecstasy of the Magdalene on the easternmost bay of the back of the posterior wall of the Sagrario (the thus called section of the church between the *capilla mayor* and the apse) in the cathedral of Palencia. Against an undiapered gold background (possibly, however, regilded) the composition is thrown into a very formal design. The centre of the panel is occupied by the soaring Magdalene; the four corners are painted so as to balance one another in absolute symmetry. The two upper corners contain angels, the lower left corner the rocks of the penitent's cave, and the lower right corner an altar. Two scrolls, one across the saint's body and the other on the rocks, I have been able to read only far enough to see that they contain no signature or date. The inscription of the scroll on the rocks makes some statement about the Magdalene.[2]

An isolated example of the last phase of the international movement in Castile is constituted by the two small panels of the Annunciation in the Fogg Museum, Harvard (Fig. 354), which must have been painted about 1450. Since the sections of Spanish retables are often framed in flamboyant Gothic carving very similar to that which these panels have preserved, it is likely that they constituted originally, not a diptych, but

---

[1] M. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España*, *Provincia de Zamora*, p. 307 and plate 330. A stopping place of the picture in its journey from El Cubo to America was the Traumann Collection at Madrid.

[2] On the picture as exhibited at Barcelona I have read the scroll: *Cueva donde estaba María Magdalena.*

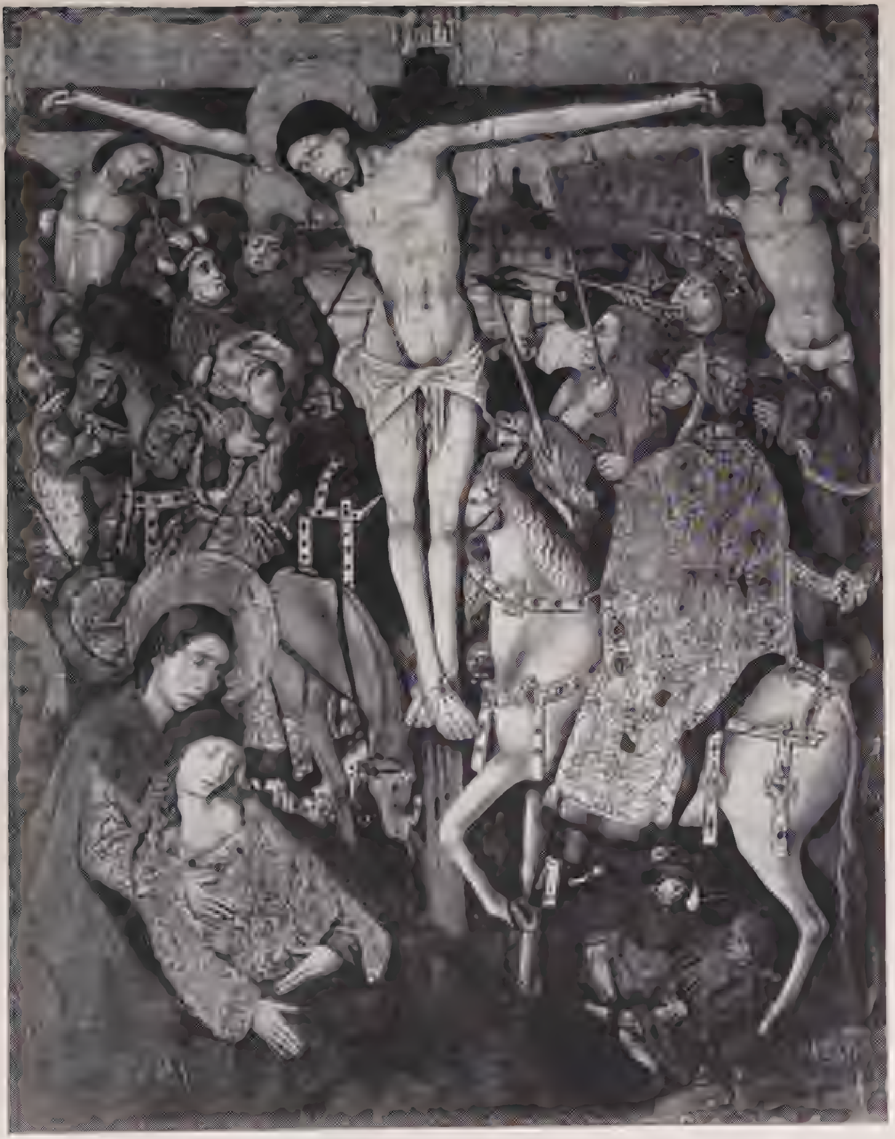

Fig. 353. SCHOOL OF NICOLÁS FRANCÉS. CRUCIFIXION. JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN COLLECTION, PROVIDENCE

(Courtesy of Mr. Brown)

parts, not necessarily contiguous, of a complicated altarpiece. The Master Juan de Burgos who has set his signature under the St. Gabriel remains an unknown quantity, for Juan is too common a name to confirm Tormo's surmises. As a probability he suggests identification with a Juan de Burgos who was inspecting and caring for the glass of windows in the cathedral of Leon in 1452 and who may or may not have been the Juan de Burgos mentioned as doing glass for the church in 1420 or the Juan de Argr. or Arquer recorded as working upon the glass in 1424.[1] As a possibility he suggests a miniaturist of the same appellation in the service of the cathedral of Burgos in 1498. The illuminator's technique that marks the Fogg picture might support the latter hypothesis, but Juan de Burgos must have lived to the age of a Titian if he executed it about 1450 and was still in 1498 a valued employee of the cathedral-chapter. Mayer was formerly disposed to assign the work to the region of Aragon or Valencia, whither the painter, of Castilian birth, might have wandered; but Bertaux was probably right in his guess at the school of Nicolás Francés for its provenience, and more recently Mayer[2] has placed it in the Castilian school, although discerning a relationship to the angel of Conrad Witz's Heilspiegel altarpiece in which it is hard to follow him. The gold background incised with a pattern of foliage is not peculiar to the eastern section of the peninsula, and what elements of Italianism linger in the painting may be explained by the inheritance from Dello or from Nicolás Francés quite as well as by the Sienese strain in the art of Aragon and Valencia. The connection of Juan de Burgos with the school of Leon would constitute some slight support to Tormo's hypothesis of an identity with the inspector of glass in that city. Somewhat the same influences as in Castile prevailed in the contemporary school of Seville, but Juan's figures and heads have a certain pinched quality that is a determinative trait of Nicolás's panel paintings at Leon and dates back, whether or not through Dello, to Gentile da Fabriano. The most Italianate factor is the type of the angel. Although Master Juan de Burgos was not a great artist but only a

---

[1] For the documents, see Demetrio de los Ríos, *La catedral de León*, II, 222. Gómez-Moreno supposes that Argr. or Arquer may be a Hispanicization of Angers: *Catálogo monumental, Provincia de León*, 266.

[2] *La pintura española*, 67.

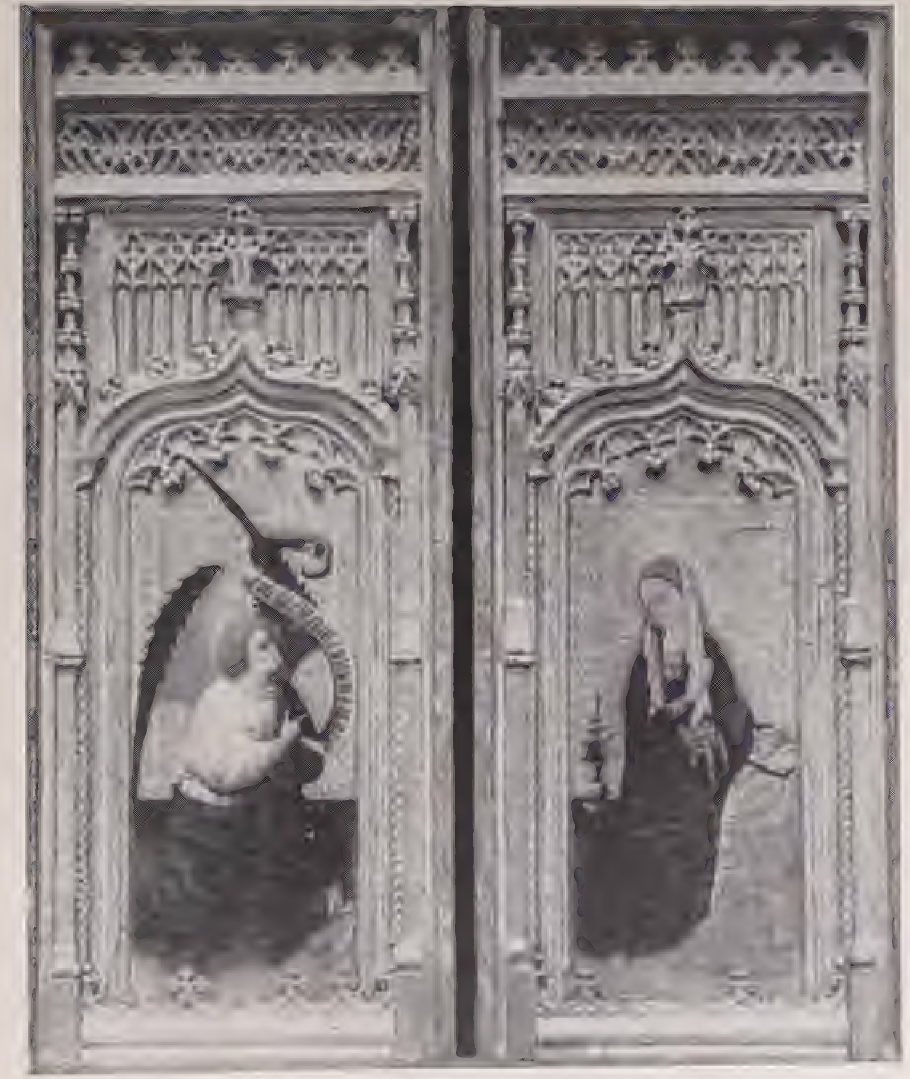

Fig. 354. JUAN DE BURGOS. ANNUNCIATION
FOGG MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

pleasantly gifted craftsman, yet his more sophisticated rendering of the human form suggests that he was one of the latest members of the international school. In other respects he is a typical exponent of the style, particularly in his skilled control of calligraphic swirl of drapery and scroll. The Spanish feeling is given by the prominence of the brocades and by the formality of the design, especially in the angel. His left wing is arbitrarily thrown back to catch the scroll so as to lend piquancy to the filling of the upper space by a combination of feathers and inscription. Spanish conventionalization is carried even into the color scheme. A vibrating balance of colors (noted in the Catalogue of the Fogg Museum) unites the two panels: the green of the Virgin's gown is echoed in the over-mantle of St. Gabriel, the blue of her outer garment in his wings and in the lining of his mantle, and the vermilion of the inside of his right wing in the brocade of Our Lady's *prie-Dieu*.[1]

---

[1] I have not seen the two panels of Sts. Thomas and Peter Martyr in the convent of Sancti Spíritus at Toro, which Gómez-Moreno, in the *Catálogo monumental*, denominates as works of the first half of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER XLII

THE ITALO-GOTHIC AND INTERNATIONAL STYLES IN ANDALUSIA

From first to last Seville has been the seat of the principal school of painting in Andalusia; but the painting of Seville, like that of Venice, to which it has sometimes been compared, did not enter into the enjoyment of its full glory until the sixteenth century. Its history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is obscure not only because the extant monuments are few but also because the later Sevillians, with a Venetian love of brilliancy, have now and again freshened up and restored the preserved pictures until they retain only a distant resemblance to the originals. In the period now under consideration, which carries us to the middle of the Quattrocento, only three or four examples of painting may now be found outside of Seville and its immediate province. Even at Seville itself, during the fourteenth century, despite the fact that the city was a royal residence from its capture by St. Ferdinand in 1248 until the death of Peter the Cruel in 1369, little monumental painting may have been produced, for, since it had been occupied by the Moors until the middle of the thirteenth century, some time probably had to elapse in order that a Christian tradition of local pictorial activity might establish itself. We have already had occasion to observe that the Franco-Gothic movement in painting has left us in the south, except for the ceiling-paintings of the Alhambra, no certain monumental remains, and that its existence is chiefly proved by the illuminations of the manuscripts of Alfonso the Wise. When a tradition of larger painting, however, had once established itself, one thing does stand forth — as potent an Italian influence as may be discovered anywhere else in the peninsula; but again, as in other provinces, the foreign borrowings are thoroughly Hispanicized and even given a local tone. It is perhaps not too much to say that they already tend to be modified in the direction of that cult of bland sweetness which was to become so frequent a characteristic of the later school of Seville and was to culminate in Murillo. The native masters would thus have been expected to find more congenial prototypes at Siena than at Florence; but, to keep company with the trend of foreign influences in Castile, there is nearly as much evidence of admiration for the achievements of the school of Giotto as for those of Simone Martini and his followers. Although the relics of painting of this epoch are so scarce in Andalusia, yet they present us with one or two examples that possibly may be assigned to the next stage in the development, the international style; and the Italian form of internationalism which was championed in western Spain by Dello Delli during the second quarter of the Quattrocento and which had its effect upon native production in Castile and Leon seems to have left some record also in this Andalusian international art, probably because Dello's brother, likewise a painter, sojourned at Seville.[1] It is possible to trace its influence in Andalusian illumination during the first half of the fifteenth century and less surely in the frescoes of Santiponce.

The painting of Seville itself in the fourteenth century is now represented for us by three frescoed, standing Madonnas, of larger size than life, the Virgen de la Antigua in the chapel of the same name in the cathedral (Fig. 355), the Virgen de Rocamador in S. Lorenzo (Fig. 356), and the Virgen del Coral in S. Ildefonso (Fig. 357), so called either because of the coral around the Child's neck or, according to Gestoso, because of the scarlet color of the Virgin's robe.[2] The Virgen de la Antigua is depicted as crowned, the Virgen de Rocamador as censed, by a pair of smaller angels above their heads; the former figure is also surmounted by another angel bearing the inscription, *Ecce Maria venit*, and is adored at the bottom by a diminutive feminine worshipper, who will receive our subsequent attention. In all these pictures, the Child clasps a bird; the Virgen de la Antigua

---

[1] See above, p. 235. The three ceilings of the Alhambra, as we have seen, are merely premonitory of the international movement and do not belong to it. Certainly they have no connection with Dello's art.

[2] The epithet is sometimes spelled Corral, and the figure interpreted as the Virgin of the Yard. Rouchès (*La peinture espagnole*, 185), retaining the single *r*, explains the word as the adjective *coral*, which signifies "relating to the *coro* or choir of a church"; but I can find no authority for such a substantival use of the adjective *coral*.

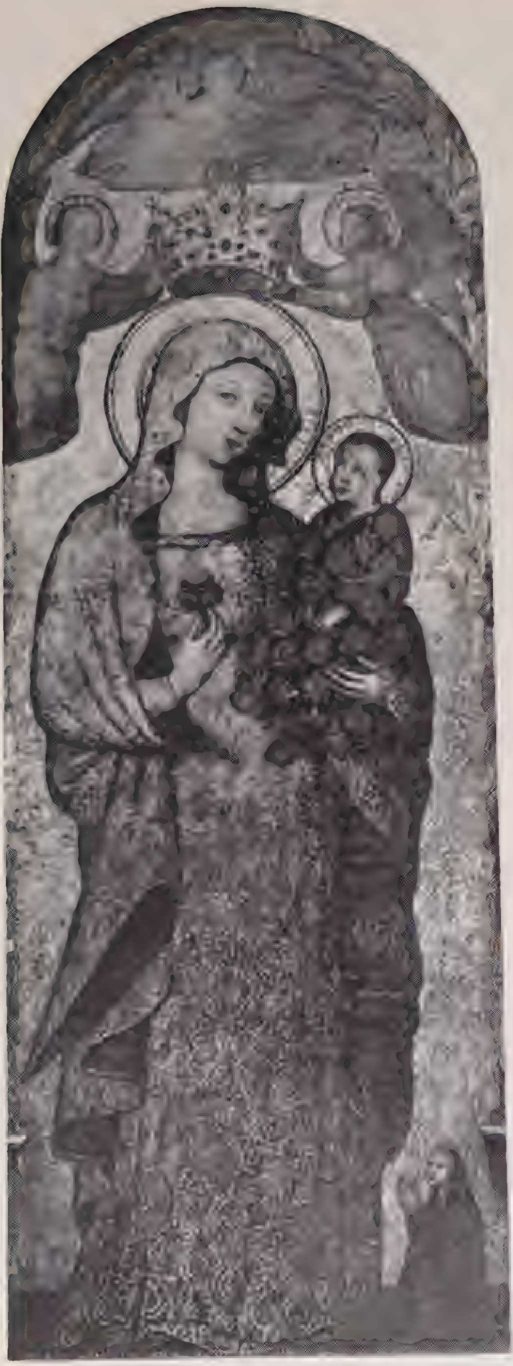

FIG. [illegible] VIRGEN DE LA ANTIGUA.
CATHEDRAL, SEVILLE

holds a rose, and her sister of the Coral a fruit. Pious devotion surrounds these much revered images with a hoary Visigothic antiquity and would think of them as rich with miraculous blessing for the Mozarabic Christians of the city when later they groaned under Mohammedan rule. In their present condition they are certainly works of the Trecento, but several stylistic as well as historical considerations suggest that they may be substitutions for, or even repaintings of, earlier icons. The fact that the tradition connected with the Virgen de Rocamador specifies a locality may mean that it has a kernel of accuracy and truth in it. The story runs that in Mozarabic days the painting existed in the atrium or porch of a chapel and small hospital of St. Barbara and that shortly after the Christian Reconquest, which took place in 1248, it was transferred to the near-lying church of S. Lorenzo, which during the Moorish occupation had been a mosque. It is in the Virgen de la Antigua that one can make out the clearest case for a retention of certain traits of an earlier image. Whether we accept Goldschmidt's [1] contention that the Gothic statues of the Madonna from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries in Europe were the result of a gradual evolution from the Byzantine iconographic type called the Hodegetria, or whether we believe —a kind of possibility too often set aside by historians of art— that they embody a similar but independent development, the Virgen de la Antigua is so much closer than the Gothic statues to the Hodegetria as to arouse the legitimate suspicion that she is adapted from, or painted over, a prior representation which was some primitive artist's imitation, during the twelfth or thirteenth century or an even earlier period, of a Byzantine model. Although the Virgin Hodegetria is sometimes seated,[2] she usually stands as here. Not only are such details of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua as the position of the Child on Mary's left arm and the placing of her right hand before her breast duplicated in the Hodegetria, but her outer garment resembles the Byzantine *paenula* more than do the mantles of the Gothic carved Madonnas. The Virgen del Coral might appear more east-Christian if the posture were not reversed and the Child

---

[1] A. Goldschmidt, *Gotische Madonnenstatuen in Deutschland*, Augsburg, 1923.

[2] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 673.

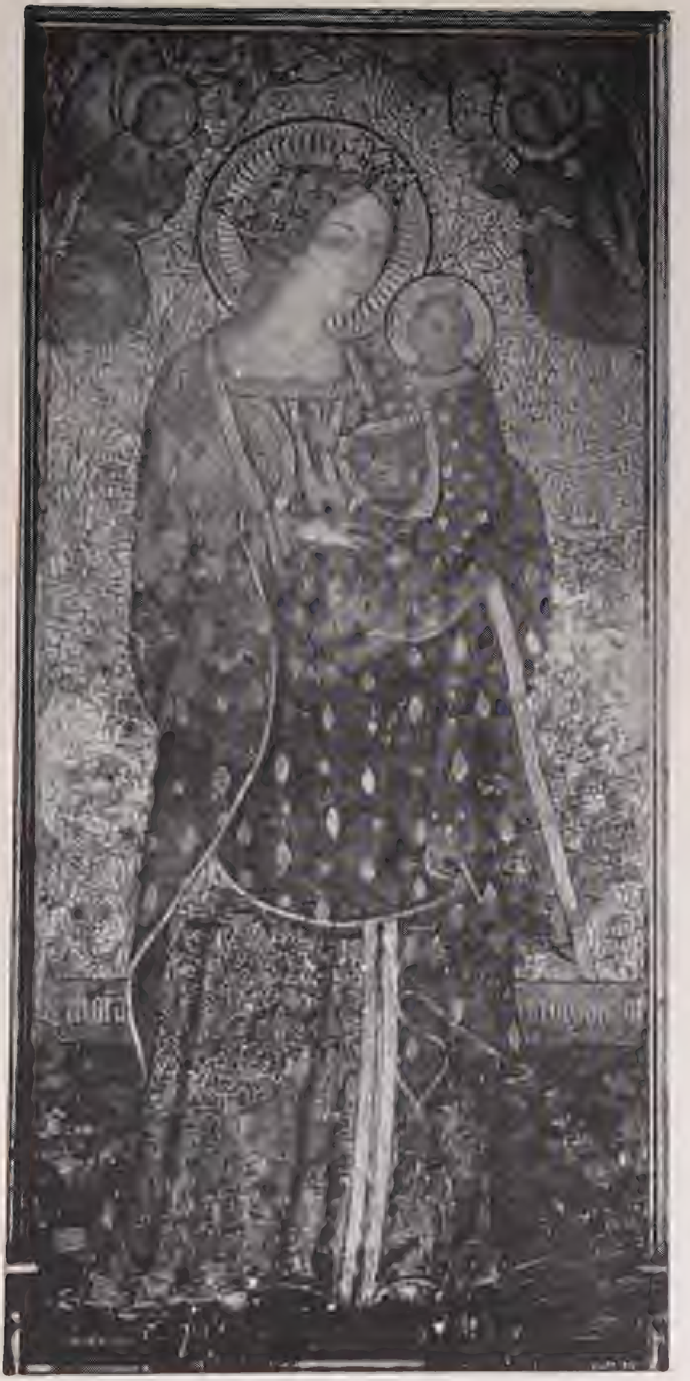

Fig. 356. VIRGEN DE ROCAMADOR. S. LORENZO, SEVILLE

held on the right arm. The Virgen de Rocamador least betrays any Byzantine relationship.

Critics have broken lances on the question whether the existing style of the three frescoes is of French or Italian derivation, but the subsequent repainting even over the fourteenth century foundation is so ruthless that there is little basis for valid judgment. If we reject the hypothesis that the standing posture of the Virgin holding the Child lingered on from more primitive representations, we must acknowledge that it does not belong to Italian painting of the Trecento and that it suggests those carved Madonnas which were so characteristic a product of France in this century and thence probably were popularized as devotional objects throughout European art, even in Italian sculpture. The invocation of one of the Virgins under the title with which she was honored at Rocamadour in southern France might be conceived as having led its author to seek in that country also his artistic model; but this is not the only instance of this cult in the Iberian peninsula, as is witnessed by the existence of other Spanish and Portuguese images of the same title,[1] by the frequent mention of the French shrine, as a place of pilgrimage, in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso the Wise in the thirteenth century, and by an allusion to it, even at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, in the *Crónica rimada del Cid*. The *déhanchement* of the Madonna's body, which is not very pronounced in any of the three examples, is a trait of the French sculptured Virgins; but from France it had penetrated into the art of all Europe in the fourteenth century and might, therefore, have reached Seville via Siena. It cannot be denied that these figures at Seville have a French look about them, especially the Virgen de Rocamador; yet, after much vacillation, I have come to feel that, even if the standing posture be French in origin, the execution, as far as it is not blurred by restoration, reveals at least a partial knowledge of Italian methods. The elements that are most persuasively Italian are the Child and the two angels in the Rocamador example and the diminutive feminine worshipper who

---

[1] Marqués de Valmar, Introduction to the *Cantigas de Santa María de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, Madrid, 1889, I, 87 ff.; and F. M. Tubino, *La Virgen de Rocamador*, *Museo español de antigüedades*, II, 137.

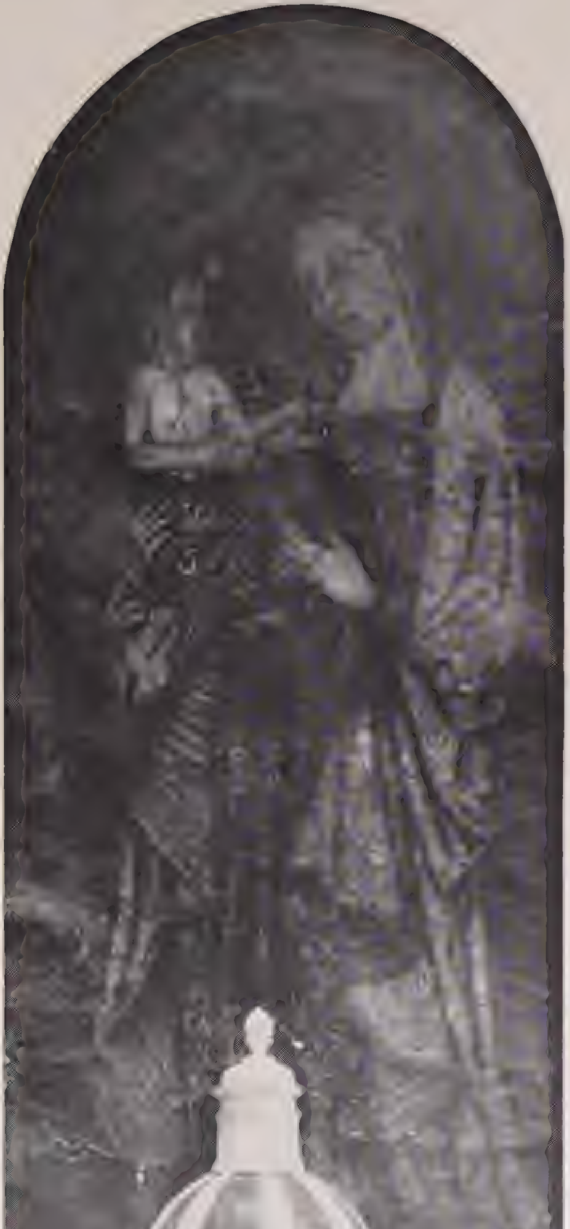

Fig. 357. VIRGEN DEL CORAL.
S. ILDEFONSO, SEVILLE

kneels beside Nuestra Señora de la Antigua. Under the countenances of the Madonnas de la Antigua and of Rocamador it is perhaps possible to discern the Sienese type, with its almond-shaped eyes, prettified for home consumption at Seville; in the visage of the Virgen del Coral the Sienese derivation emerges more baldly. The likelihood of an Italian influence receives support from its undoubted presence in the frescoes at another place in Andalusia, Arcos de la Frontera, which are probably of not much later date, and from the decided Italian strain that certainly emerged in Seville itself by the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.

The Spanish touch is given by the prominence of the gold backgrounds (except in the case of the Virgen del Coral) and the brocades in the garments, but both of these factors are probably due in large part, if not altogether, to repainting. The golden robes of the Virgen de la Antigua and the background against which she is set are restrained enough in design to be perhaps the nearest to a reproduction of the original ornamentations of the fourteenth century, although the dark purple of the Child's tunic and the boldness of the *motif* of His brocade are suspiciously modern. There is a tradition that the diminutive feminine worshipper is Leonor de Alburquerque, the wife of Ferdinand de Antequera, regent of Castile for John II beginning with 1407 and afterward himself king of Aragon from 1412 to 1416 under the title of Ferdinand the Honest or the Just, and that he himself was originally represented as balancing her on the left. Inasmuch as Ferdinand was not born at the earliest before 1373, his effigy and that of his spouse could not possibly have been painted here prior to the first years of the last decade of the fourteenth century, and it would not be likely that they would be painted until he had won his sobriquet of *de Antequera* by capturing this Andalusian town in 1410; but in any case the style of the portraiture is so primitive as to disprove the tradition. In the Virgen de Rocamador it is hard to place the pattern either of the background or of Our Lady's tunic in the Trecento, but the simpler *motif* of cones on her mantle might conceivably belong to this period or at least constitute a subsequent imitation of such a fabric. The golden stuffs employed to clothe the Madonna and Child del Coral are of a type peculiarly characteristic of southern Spanish painting beginning with the sixteenth century. It is hard to believe that the painting of the Madonnas de la Antigua and of Rocamador in the Trecento was done after the middle of the century. The heads of the two angels crowning the Virgen de la Antigua are too much retouched to provide a criterion; but the bit of the fresco that seems the least spoiled, the tiny feminine worshipper, would certainly suggest the style of the first half of the Trecento. In the Virgen de Rocamador a date subsequent to 1350 can scarcely be reconciled with the character of the Child's head, the long right hand of the Madonna, or the types and draperies of the censing angels.[1] Despite the somewhat primitive nature of the Virgin's head in the effigy of the Coral, the fuller and less angular folds of her drapery (if these be original) and the nudity of the Child's upper body would point to a date perhaps some twenty-five years later. The sanctity and popularity of the Virgen de la Antigua are demonstrated by the numerous copies made as cult-images for other Andalusian shrines in the succeeding centuries.

The Italian influence definitely declares itself in what remains of the mural paintings in the apse of the church of Sta. María at Arcos de la Frontera in the province of Cadiz, which were executed in some form of *fresco a secco* at the end of the fourteenth or in the first years of the fifteenth century. The church, as it now exists, is largely a late Gothic structure of the sixteenth century, but there are parts that go back at least to the fourteenth century. The apse is mentioned in a notice of the year 1430,[2] and the style of the paintings as well as of the architecture conclusively proves that it must have been built before this date. The frescoes are hidden behind the huge sculptured retable of the late Renaissance, the work of Jerónimo Hernández and Andrés de Ocampo, and were not discovered until about 1880. The wall of the apse is divided into five spaces by engaged *mudéjar* columns and capitals of stucco. In the central space the Coronation of the Virgin is fairly well preserved (Fig. 358). Our Lord and his mother are seated upon a throne the twisted colonnettes of which suggest Roman Cosmati-work, but the pedestals of these colonnettes have tracery containing Moorish horseshoe arches. The sacred pair are surrounded by a galaxy of masculine and feminine saints, of whom the women below the throne make music and present fruits and flowers. If some of these lower figures are conceived as angels, at least no wings are apparent. The engaged columns themselves are embellished with effigies of saints, among whom at the right Sts. Paul and Helen are clearly recognizable. In the next space to the right of the Coronation the figure of a haloed horseman, perhaps Santiago, may be discerned, and in the space at the left, in smaller scale, the vestiges of a painting of a town with the vague outlines of other human forms, two of them mounted. The furthest space at the left is occupied by an exquisite passage of *mudéjar* tracery in stucco over a niche that Mancheño believes to have been a *diaconicum;* the adornment of the furthest space at the right, if adornment there is, cannot now be seen because of the obstruction of the retable. In the types and draperies of the Coronation the Florentine rather than the Sienese Trecento seems to be the source of inspiration. There is a certain sturdiness in the bodies, a certain broad simplicity and absence of Sienese sinuosity in the garments, that bespeak the school of Giotto. The nearest Italian analogue is perhaps the fresco of Paradise by Orcagna and his brother Nardo di Cione or by Nardo alone in the Strozzi Chapel of S. Maria Novella, Florence. But the foreign suggestions have passed through the mind and hand of a native artist who, with an Andalusian susceptibility to girlish beauty, softens the sternness of the Giotteschi. Some of these maidens' heads, indeed, for instance that of the saint who fingers the lyre at the lower left, reveal a technical command such as to arouse the suspicion that they may have been executed as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century by an artist who in most respects clung archaically to the modes of the Trecento. The most recent critic of the cycle, César Peman, has arrived, independ-

---

[1] If Tubino is right in discerning repaint on the Virgin's hand and on the angels, it has not destroyed the original lines.

[2] I owe this fact to the distinguished Andalusian scholar, Don Diego Angulo, who courteously culled it for me from M. Mancheño's large work, *Arcos de la Frontera*, the two volumes of which were published in 1922 and 1923 but which are inaccessible to me. I have at my disposal only Mancheño's little book on the frescoes themselves, *Una joya artística desconocida* (1917), in which the dates about the building of the church do not always agree with those given by C. Peman in his recent article in the *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, no. XI (1928), 139 ff.

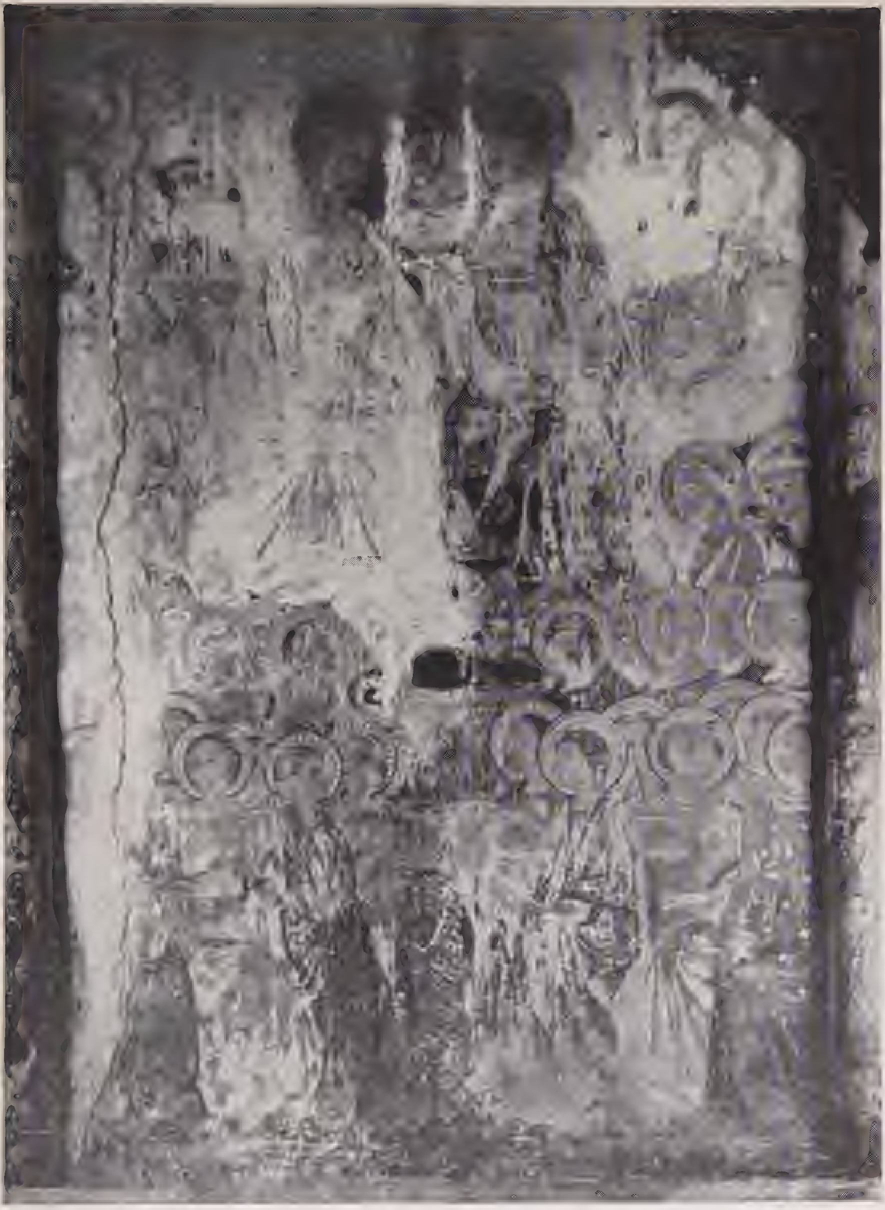

FIG. 358. CORONATION, STA. MARÍA, ARCOS DE LA FRONTERA

(Photo. Arxiu Mas)

ently of me, at a dating within the same broad limits, the second half of the fourteenth or the first years of the fifteenth century.

Another most unmistakable example of Italian proclivities also lies without the immediate province of Seville, the polyptych of the fourteenth century coming from the chapel of St. Peter in the cathedral of Cordova and now in the Obrería del Cabildo in that city. The central panel (Fig. 359) displays the seated Virgen de la Leche accompanied at the sides, in smaller scale, by two angels and, at a lower level, by a kneeling masculine and a feminine donor, each of whom a saint presents.[1] Ramírez de Arellano identifies these personages with an Alonso Fernández de Montemayor and his wife Juana Martínez, and thus proceeds to find in the canonized bishop behind Don Alonso his name-saint, Ildefonso (another form for *Alfonso* or *Alonso*). The saint who patronizes the lady seems to be, from the Cistercian habit, Bernard. In the four lateral panels of the polyptych are represented Sts. Peter, Paul, Catherine, and Francis. The Italianism is so pronounced, even in the structure of the whole altarpiece, that one's first thoughts are of an actual Italian authorship; but the craft, though by no means indifferent, is not quite equal to the standard in the sister peninsula. The painter appears to have been a Spaniard who was thoroughly imbued with Florentine rather than Sienese aesthetic tradition. The monumental volume of the Virgin's drapery is obviously a Giottesque inheritance. The manner in which the Child is held and the general composition of the central panel recall most irresistibly, among the masters of the Florentine Trecento, Bernardo Daddi and his followers, and Don Diego Angulo[2] has rightly singled out as a rather exact analogue among these followers, Puccio di Simone. In order to be convinced of the parallelism, the student should compare the Cordovan Virgin with the principal panel of Puccio's altarpiece in the Florentine Academy.

[1] For my acquaintance with the Cordovan retable I am again indebted to Don Diego Angulo, who, with great generosity, has supplied me with a photograph of the central panel and with the facts that I have incorporated in this paragraph. The lateral panels I do not know even in photograph. Some of the facts come from the article of Ramírez de Arellano which is listed in my bibliography and of which, because it is inaccessible to me, Don Diego has kindly sent me a brief summary.

[2] *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, no. XI (1928), 79.

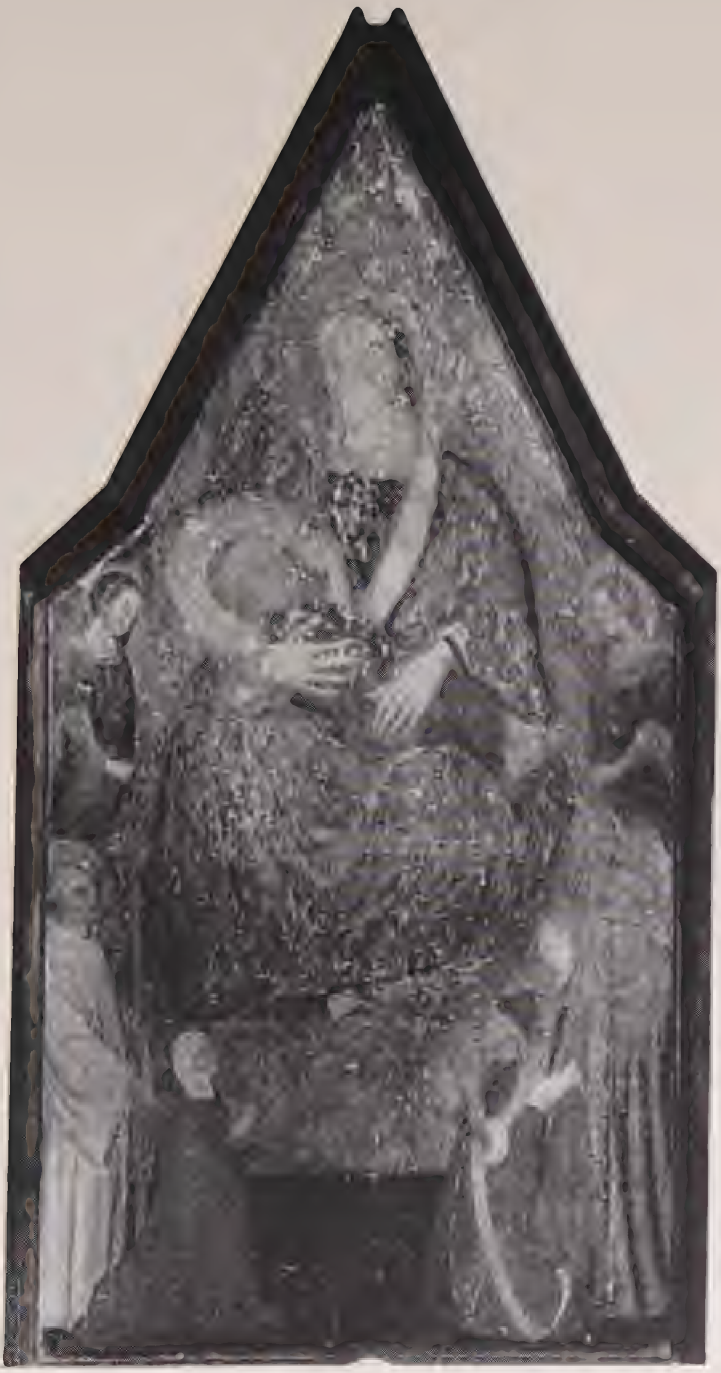

Fig. 359. VIRGEN DE LA LECHE.
OBRERÍA DEL CABILDO, CORDOVA

(Courtesy of Don Diego Angulo)

In the school of Seville itself, at the end of the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth century, a certain dependence upon Siena and even, sporadically, upon Giottesque Florence becomes an indisputable fact. A convenient introduction to the painting of this period is provided by a work that curiously sets the Italian and the international styles side by side without fusing them, the meagre fragments of a retable representing, together on one large panel in beautiful preservation, the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 360) and, above it, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and, in a separate pinnacle, the angel of the Annunciation. From Seville they underwent a peregrination to the convent of Sta. Úrsula at Salamanca. Through the mediation of Professor Antonio García Boiza of the University of Salamanca, the nuns courteously brought the panel of the Presentation and the Massacre of the Innocents, which is kept within the *clausura*, down to the grill that communicates with the outside world, so that I might study it; but they told me that the pinnacle of St. Gabriel, which is reproduced in an article of Gómez-Moreno, has disappeared from the institution. The gold backgrounds of the panel that I have seen are diapered at the borders, and in the actual painting gold is also employed for accents, as in the tunic, beneath a blue mantle, of the Virgin in the Presentation, in the crown of Herod, and in sections of the soldiers' armor. The Massacre of the Innocents is signed by "García Fernández, painter of Seville," who is generally assumed to be identical with a master of the same name mentioned as painter attached to the royal marine-arsenal at Seville in 1407. The relation to the Andalusian school is clinched by the fact that the pictures are known to have once belonged to an archbishop of Seville. The angel is as completely Italianate as anything that one will find at the epoch in the Spanish peninsula. He recalls very closely Giotto's Gabriel of the Arena Chapel, with much of Giotto's religious severity and volume of form, so that Bertaux rightly places the author in a class with Taddeo Gaddi. To this distinctly memorable figure the Presentation is inferior. The execution is more lackadaisical, the draperies have rather the undulations of French or Sienese Gothic; and yet the derivation from the compositions, bulkiness, and even the color of the school of Giotto is still unmistakable.

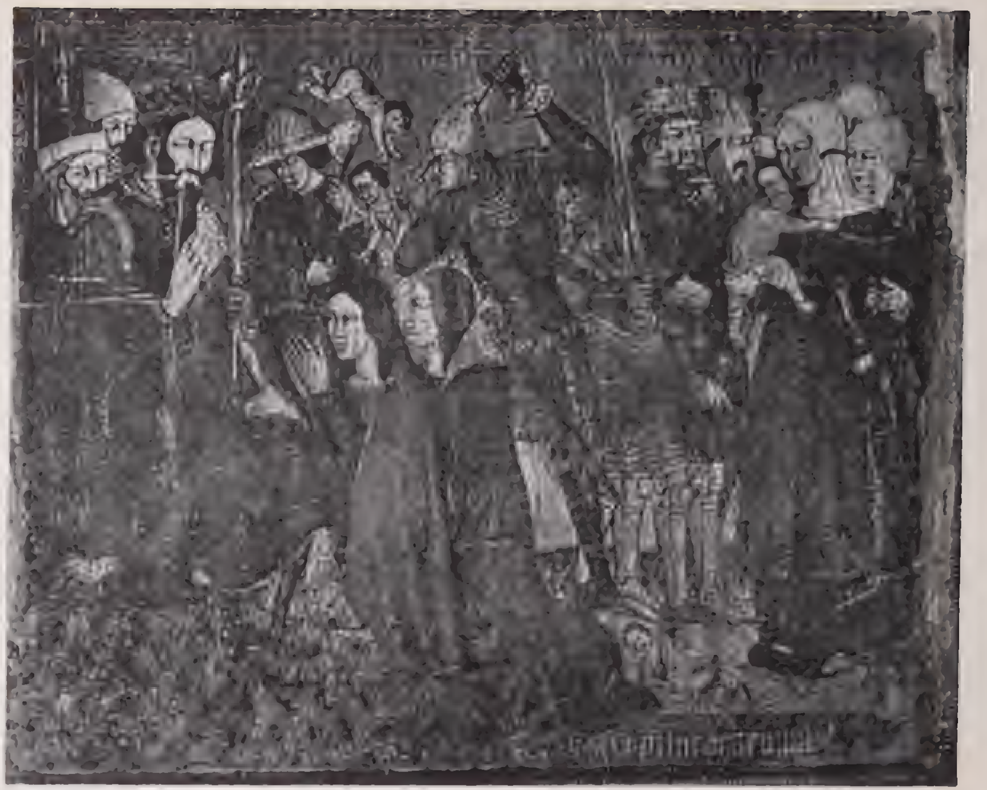

Fig. 360. GARCIA FERNÁNDEZ. MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS. STA. ÚRSULA, SALAMANCA

(From "Garci Ferrández, pintor de Sevilla" by M. Gómez-Moreno)

The compartment of the Massacre of the Innocents seems to owe little or nothing to Italy, but is in a very different style, the constituents of which are international. The composition cannot be paralleled in Italian art of the epoch: at the left, two mothers kneel in supplication of the enthroned Herod, above them the king's bravoes are impaling infants on their spears, and compactness of arrangement is violated by a dissociated group at the right consisting of soldiers about to fall upon a group of women and a child. The costumes are not the pseudo-classic draperies of the Giotteschi and of the two other panels, but in king, executioners, and mothers alike they are the contemporary dress cultivated by the international masters. The forms are somewhat more elongated than in the stubby Giottesque figures of the Presentation. The Child of the Presentation is no kin of the babies who are the victims of the Massacre. The neutral types of Giottesque painting have given way to the international attempt at more naturalistic, though never very exact, characterization: the assailants are made fierce and are brutalized, and some of these soldiers, the kneeling women, but particularly Herod have a pronounced Spanish cast of countenance. The episode of one mother pulling the beard of her persecutor is a bit of international *genre*. The color has the more piquant brightness and richness of the miniatures. The sceptre of Herod is rendered in relief. The style, in general, is so diverse that one may legitimately ask himself whether the García Fernández who signed the Massacre was the painter of the other two sections. The narrow, squinting eyes in all three compartments might suggest an identity in authorship, and it could be argued that García Fernández perhaps did not have at hand Italian models for the Massacre as he had for the angel and the Presentation and so turned here to his own invention and to the other popular manner of the moment, the international. A curious unevenness of execution, however, separates all three panels. The technical skill revealed in the angel and in the Massacre is of a higher grade than that betrayed by the Presentation, and yet it is the angel and the Massacre that are furthest apart in style. Despite the stiff and defective rendering of the postures and gestures, the Massacre exhibits a better quality of draughtsmanship than the Presentation, and the wimple of the

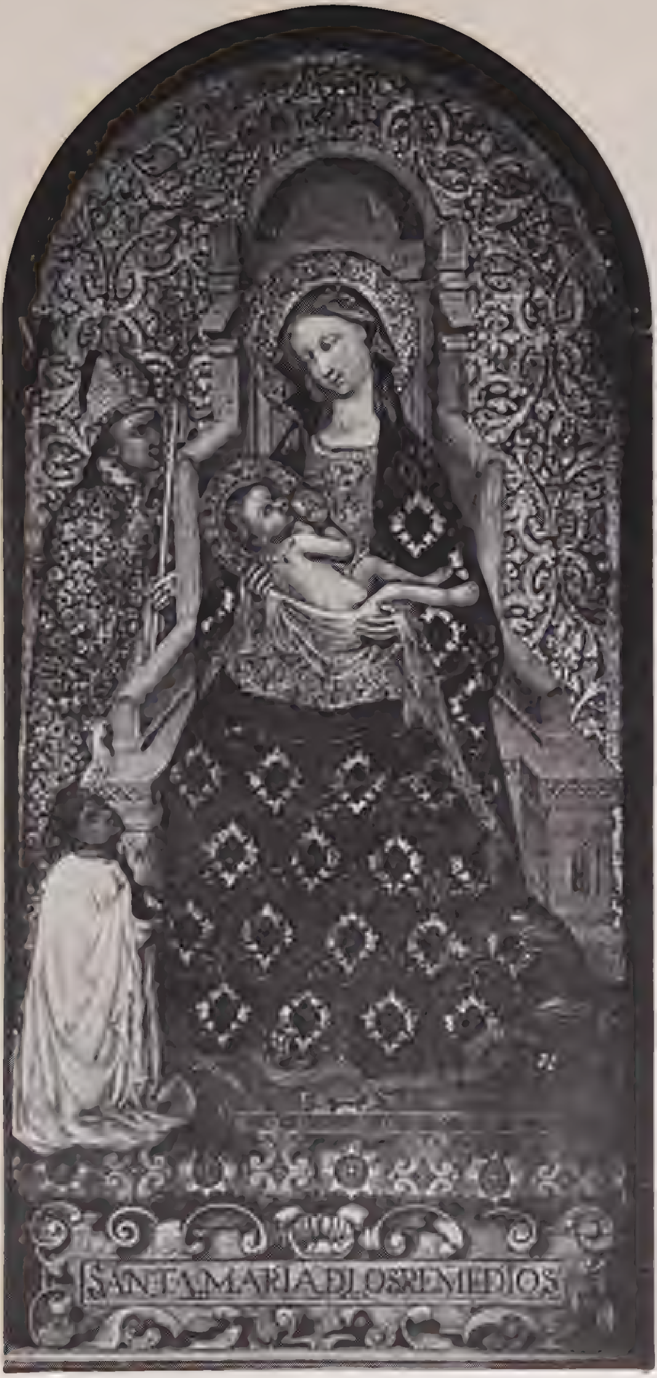
SANTA MARIA DLOS REMEDIOS

Fig. 361. VIRGEN DE LOS REMEDIOS.
CATHEDRAL, SEVILLE

woman at the right holding an infant is really a distinguished piece of painting. One could not cavil, indeed, with a critic who held that, although the Presentation and the Massacre are joined on a single panel, each of the three pictures is by a different hand, and that therefore the original altarpiece was the result of a collaboration in which García Fernández was only one of the partners.

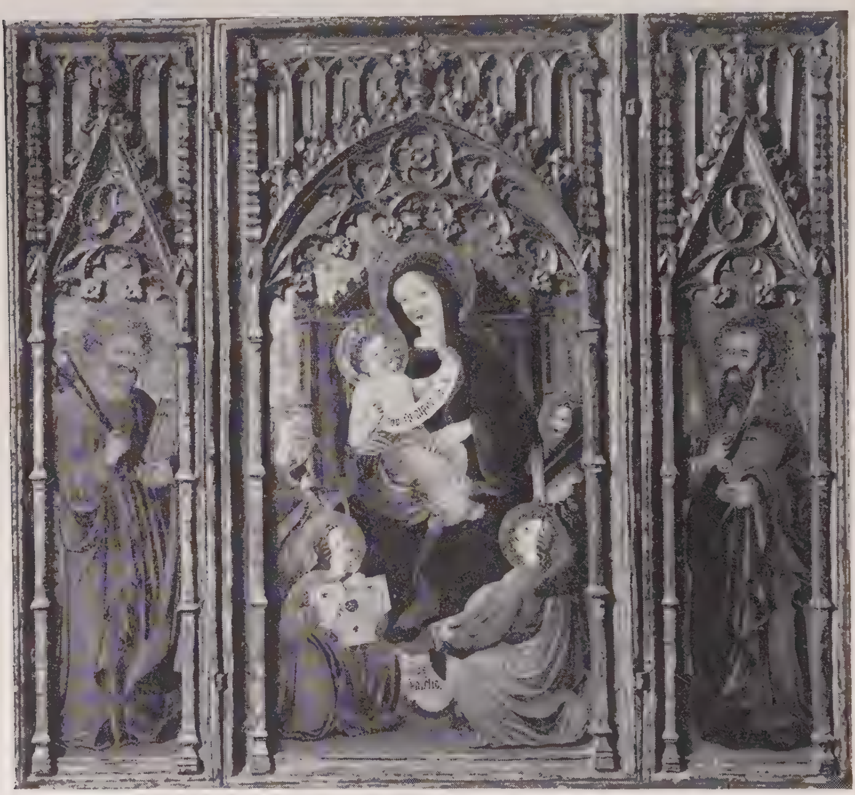

Fig. 362. JOHANNES HISPALENSIS. TRIPTYCH.
LÁZARO COLLECTION, MADRID
(Photo. Ruiz Vernacci)

In a fourth example in the series of Sevillian Madonnas, the seated Virgen de los Remedios accompanied by a kneeling clerical donor and his patron bishop, on the *trascoro* of the cathedral (Fig. 361), the Sienese influence is predominant, even in the types of Mother and Child. The present ostentatiously

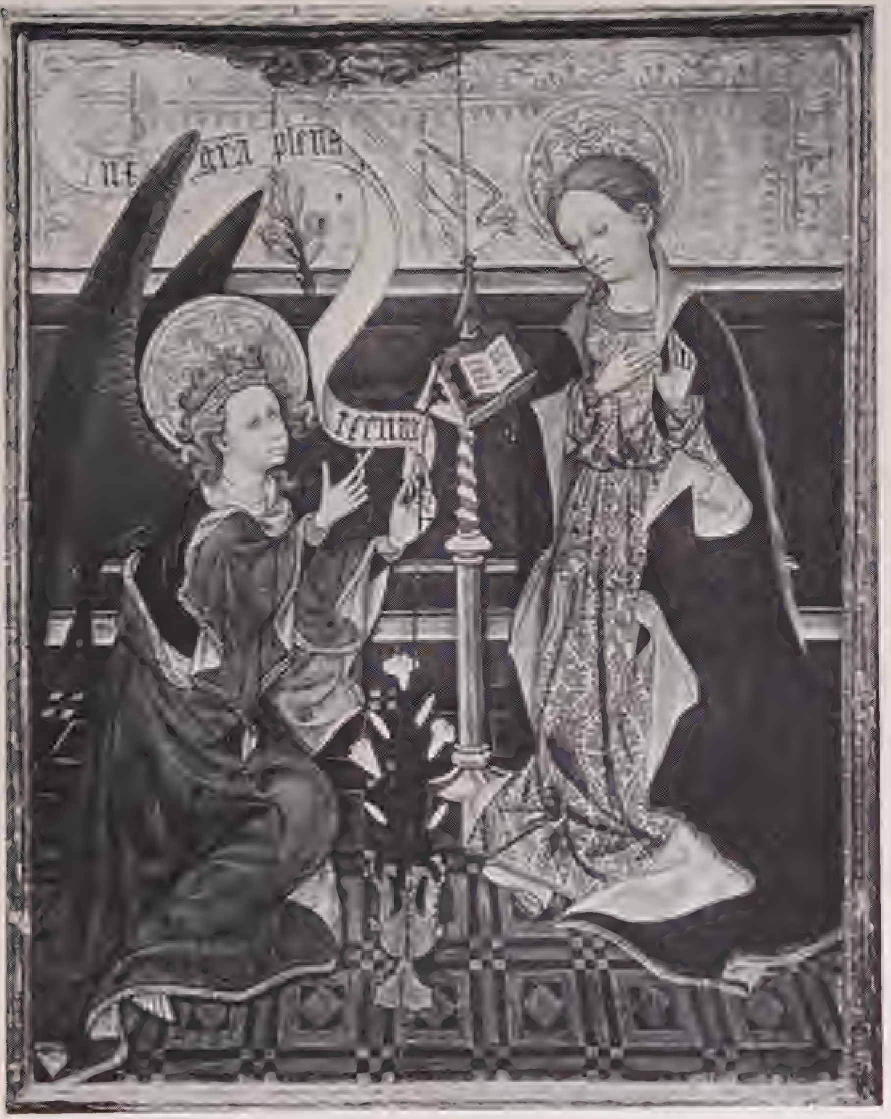

Fig. 363. ANNUNCIATION, FROM UBEDA. PLANDIURA COLLECTION, BARCELONA

(Photo. Serra)

patterned and embossed gold background is a later substitution the execution of which may be responsible for the blotting out of the episcopal saint's halo. The gold of his red cope and of the Virgin's tunic may retain at least the original *motifs*. The conspicuousness of the brocade on her blue mantle is a Spanish note. The general manner is that of the Sienese Trecento, even if, as Bertaux and Mayer surmise, the picture was not painted until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A second signed picture of the Andalusian school, the small triptych by Johannes Hispalensis (Juan of Seville)[1] in the Lázaro Collection, Madrid, is also conceived in the Sienese mood but is executed with the slightly more advanced craft of Sienese painting in the first half of the Quattrocento (Fig. 362). The winsome *motif* of the serenading of the enthroned Madonna and Child by musical angels in the central panel is both Sienese and international. The Sevillian cult of soft charm is now palpable, for Sienese prettiness is modified into an obvious endeavor for sweetness. The types of Virgin, Child, and angels are less drawn and emaciated, more full-faced than those of Siena; it is rather the Sts. Peter and Paul of the wings that reveal the Sienese models. The color of all three panels is that of the Italian Trecento at its brightest, but it must be remembered that even the Sienese masters of the early Quattrocento persisted in the modes of the previous century. There is much of that peculiar tone of light red so characteristic of Italian painting during the fourteenth century — for instance, in the linings to St. Peter's outer garment and to the Virgin's mantle and on the book of St. Paul. The gold background is patterned only at the very edges. The rather inferior drawing of the faces, among other things, excludes Juan Hispalensis from the first rank of Spanish artists of the period.

Little thoroughly international art is extant in Andalusia. An Annunciation in the Plandiura Collection, Barcelona (Fig. 363), coming from Ubeda, belongs rather to the style which led into the international movement and which is represented in Catalonia by the "manner of Guimerá," and the picture may be a lone relic of a group of Andalusian works of this sort. Both figures, but particularly the angel, are clad in the ample Gothic

---

[1] *Hispalensis* is a Latin adjective from the ancient name of the city, Hispalis.

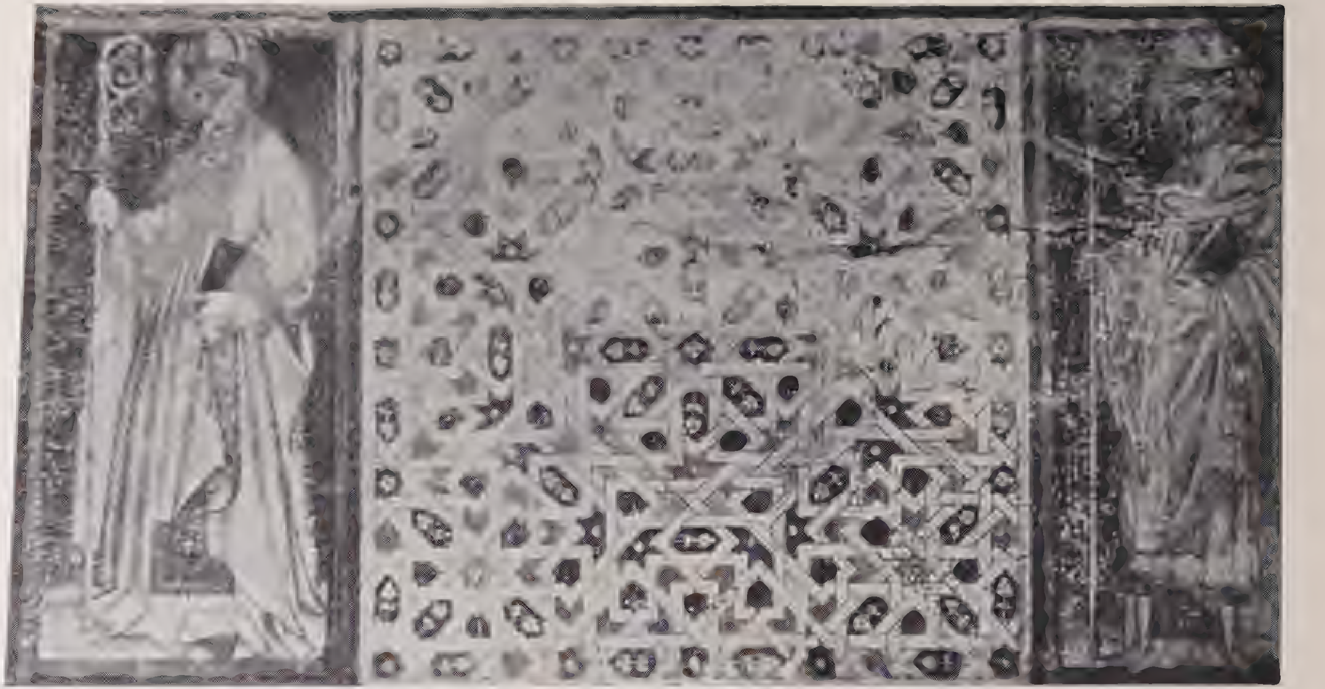

Fig. 364. TWO EPISCOPAL SAINTS AND *LACERÍA*, FRESCOES IN PATIO DE LOS EVANGELISTAS, S. ISIDORO DEL CAMPO, SANTIPONCE

draperies, with somewhat angular folds, that are characteristic of the manner of Guimerá, and their mantles are conformed to this mode also in their bright-hued linings. One might easily mistake the head of St. Gabriel, with its Medusa-like locks, for the creation of a Catalan, Valencian, or Aragonese exponent of the same phase of Gothicism.

The nearest approach that exists in the actual school of Seville to anything like straightforward international painting is found in the frescoes executed between the years 1431 and 1436[1] in the Patio de los Evangelistas in S. Isidoro del Campo at Santiponce, close to the metropolis itself. The subjects that consist of human figures are separated from one another by broad and superb decorative expanses of pure design painted to simulate tiling or pavement, chiefly the *mudéjar* pattern called *lacería* (Fig. 364). In two instances the *lacería* takes the circular form of a frame to enclose the escutcheon of the Guzmán family and, in particular, the special shield of Enrique de Guzmán who is the donor of the pictures. The principal subject preserved is St. Jerome seated in his study surrounded by figures in smaller scale, a pair of monks of the Order writing, two others preparing their pens, and a soldier to whom the saint hands a letter or one of his compositions (Fig. 365). The other themes, divided at intervals by the passages of *lacería*, are standing figures of holy personages, Stephen, Lawrence, three episcopal saints, Sebastian, a princess with a sword who may be Catherine, a nun wearing a white habit adorned with small black crosses and carrying as an attribute a branch of a tree, perhaps one of St. Jerome's disciples, St. Paula or St. Marcella,[2] and a canon-

---

[1] For the evidence for these dates, see J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística*, III, 593. The date 1431 depends upon the facts that, since the principal fresco represents St. Jerome in his study, the series must have been executed at a time when the monastery belonged to Hieronymite monks, and that S. Isidoro del Campo, hitherto Cistercian, was not turned over to them until that year. The religious who occupied S. Isidoro in 1431 were not members of the principal Order of St. Jerome but of the reformed Order of the Monk-hermits of St. Jerome of the Observance, founded by Lope de Olmedo. Mayer, though accepting the date 1431, strangely denominates the figure of St. Jerome as St. Isidore, on what evidence I do not know unless it be the dedication of the church. The lion at the feet of the saint on the frame plainly identifies him with St. Jerome, as well as the Hieronymite habits, the white tunics and brown scapulars, of his companions. The year 1436 is that of the death of the Count of Niebla, Enrique de Guzmán, the presence of whose escutcheon in the decoration shows that the frescoes were executed during his lifetime.

[2] But I cannot find that either ever carries the attribute of a branch, which is a symbol of St. Bibiana or St. Bridget.

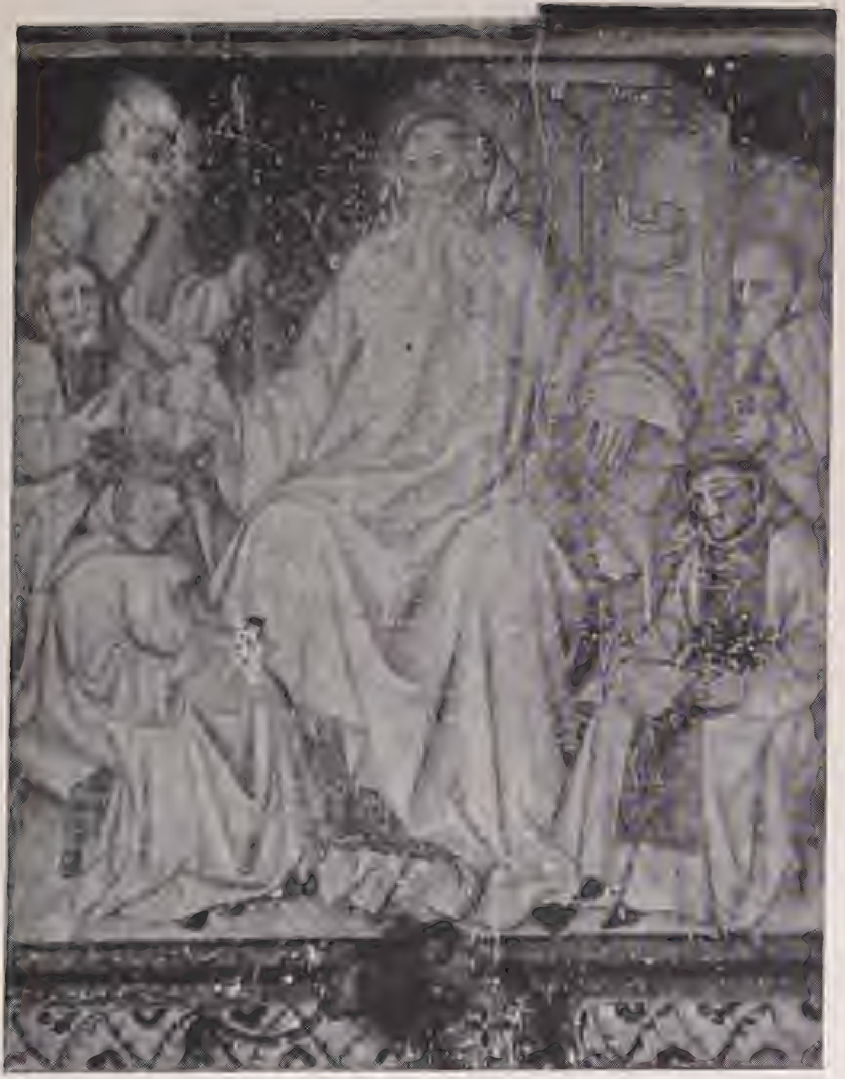

Fig. 365. ST. JEROME, FRESCO IN PATIO DE LOS EVANGELISTAS, S. ISIDORO DEL CAMPO, SANTIPONCE

ized pope, possibly St. Fabian who, being honored by the Church on the same day, January 20, as St. Sebastian, was often represented together with him. So little color is used in the figures themselves that they have the effect of forms in *grisaille* strongly relieved against backgrounds imitating red and green (originally blue?) brocades. The purely decorative sections, the bright tones of which reproduce those of tiling, are well preserved, but the figures have been badly treated by the hands of time and of man, especially through a defacement of the countenances by revolutionaries' bayonets and through a recent restoration of these visages. The cycle is better known than the majority of Andalusian pictures of the epoch because modern copies of the principal subject and of six of the saints have been set up in the Museum of Seville. To the hand of the master of the Patio de los Evangelistas may be ascribed two mural fragments from Santiponce now also in the Museum of Seville, a full-length figure of St. Matthew [1] and the bust of a feminine saint, and probably, despite the more manifest Italianism, a frescoed Last Supper still in the refectory of Santiponce. In the case of the fragments in the Museum the identity of authorship is obvious, especially apparent in the broad magnificence of the draperies and even in the same kind of simulated fabric as a background. The parallelism is not so tangible in the Last Supper; and yet the draperies, so far as they can be seen, are similar, the Apostles are conceived in exactly the same mold as the St. Jerome, the second Apostle to the left of Christ displays, like him, a "belle barbe" flowing down in separate strands, and the room is depicted as hung with an analogous tapestry.

It is true that the ordinary international traits are not present in the cycle of the Patio de los Evangelistas, except that St. Sebastian is dressed like a fashionable young gentleman of the day. Inasmuch as the common theme of St. Jerome in his study was customarily taken by mediaeval artists as an occasion for giving free rein to their love of *genre*, the details from contemporary life in its rendering at Santiponce should perhaps not be used as evidence of an international trend. The term "approach to international painting" has been employed above advisedly because the analogy to internationalism consists chiefly in a resemblance of the figures to the synchronous sculpture of Burgundy, which was perhaps the hearth of the international movement. The forms have the powerful physiques, the draperies have the swelling amplitude, the heavy stuffs, and the deeply indented folds of the carvings that issued from the atelier of Claus Sluter and Claus de Werve.[1] In particular, the figure who may be St. Catherine recalls insistently, even in the hair and in what remains of the original face, many feminine forms of Burgundian sculpture. When commissioned to depict separate effigies of saints, the painter would naturally have thought at once of the statues that he had seen in large numbers decorating the churches, and he may have had definitely in mind carved figures on the sacred edifices of Seville, which probably was already beginning to adopt for sculpture that Burgundian style which was to enjoy here a great popularity in the later fifteenth century. The influence of the art of Dijon upon him may thus have been only indirect. Yet, after all, one cannot shake off a vague impression of Italianism in looking at these pictures. Perhaps it is partly the competency of the fresco technique, or it may be the strong sculptural feeling for form in three dimensions. The Andalusian artist could not, of course, have known Andrea del Castagno's forceful standing figures of celebrities now in the refectory of S. Apollonia, Florence, which, whatever be their date, were certainly painted after 1436; but the saints in S. Isidoro are not wholly unworthy relatives of the Italian series. In the St. Sebastian the device of a vigorous planting of spread legs is employed for an effect of energy as in Castagno's Pippo Spano. If, as is wholly plausible, the Last Supper of the refectory was produced by the same artist, his dependence upon Italy is demonstrated, although in this work it is Giottesque painting of the late Trecento to which he largely owes his inspiration. *Mutatis mutandis*, indeed, the fresco looks not unlike a much later edition of Taddeo Gaddi's version in the refectory of S. Croce, which belongs to the earlier Trecento.

---

[1] He bears a scroll with the first words of his Gospel, *Liber generationis Jesu Christi.*

With no other justification than his own ability for divination, Gestoso y Pérez guesses the master of the Patio de los

---

[1] I am unable with Mayer to distinguish in the frescoes the hands of two painters differentiated by diverse treatments of the drapery.

Evangelistas to be a Diego López whom the records show to have been a prominent artist at the time and who, like García Fernández, enjoyed the position of painter to the marine-arsenal, an office in some ways equivalent to that of court-painter. In a recent important article[1] the brilliant Andalusian scholar, Diego Angulo, has come much nearer the truth. He has proved indisputably the close stylistic relation that exists between the painter of Santiponce and a contemporary illuminator of the choir-books of the cathedral of Seville, whom he dubs the Master of the Cypresses. Taking into account the inevitable technical differences between the manner of a miniaturist and a frescoist, he might, I think, have gone further and claimed that the two artists were one. The miniaturist he tentatively identifies with a Pedro de Toledo because some of the extant books containing the paintings of the Master of the Cypresses are devoted to the same ecclesiastical feasts for which Pedro is recorded to have done the illuminations in 1434 and especially because the Assumption by the Master of the Cypresses is larger than his other miniatures, a fact that would be accounted for by the greater sum which is set down as having been paid to Pedro for this theme. The identification must be regarded as only probable, for it cannot be absolutely proved that the choir-books which happen to be preserved are just the ones that Pedro decorated, and any other painter who had executed a large Assumption would also have received fuller compensation. As a much less attractive possibility Diego Angulo proposes to connect the miniaturist with another illuminator of Seville, Nicolás Gómez. The style, however, would be very retrogressive for an artist who, like Gómez, does not appear in the documents until the second half of the century; and, inasmuch as he was still living in 1505, it is most unlikely that he would have been an established artist in the thirties or forties of the Quattrocento, the period to which the illuminations must be assigned. In view of these considerations the present writer does not think it at all incredible that the master of Santiponce was Pedro de Toledo. The Italianate strain that we have discovered in the fresco of the Last Supper is predominant in the miniatures, and it is difficult to see, with Diego

---

[1] *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, no. XI (1928), 65–96.

Angulo, much of French internationalism except perhaps now and again in the types. There are, on the contrary, rather striking resemblances in the majority of the types and draperies to Dello Delli's Italian paintings at Salamanca, which, as we have seen, are in many respects reminiscent of Florentine art of the late Trecento. The natural conclusion would be that the Master of the Cypresses was much influenced by Sansone Delli, who was in Seville perhaps as early as 1432 and who may be presumed to have worked in a manner analogous to that of his brother. There is no essential absurdity in suggesting as another possibility, however remote, that Sansone Delli was the miniaturist and therefore, if the miniaturist and the frescoist are one, also the master of Santiponce. The representation of the Nativity, nevertheless, in the Seville choir-book parallels closely, as Diego Angulo has perceived, the composition for the theme by Nicolás Francés in the miniature of S. Isidoro, Leon, indeed more closely than it recalls Dello's rendering at Salamanca; and the type of St. Joseph is very similar in both illuminations, even as regards the peculiarly divided and spreading beard, which is so marked a trait of the Master of the Cypresses. But the general styles are so different as not to admit the possibility that the painter of Seville is Nicolás Francés or even his predecessor or pupil, and the compositional analogies may be due to their joint dependence upon a lost treatment of the Nativity by Dello Delli. In any case the similarity witnesses to some relationship of the Andalusian artist to the contemporary school of Castile and Leon, whether or not through Sansone as an intermediary. It must be remembered, also, that even Pedro de Toledo is proved by his name to have come from northern Spain.

Above the zone of paintings in the Patio de los Evangelistas may be discerned the dim vestiges of further frescoing, in the general international style of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a genealogical tree with figures in its branches (a Tree of Jesse?), the skeleton of personified Death, and some demonic forms. The adjoining Patio de los Muertos preserves not only a band of *mudéjar* design like that in the Patio de los Evangelistas but also relics of other mural paintings. A small St. Michael embodies the Hispano-Flemish manner of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. A figure of a saint with the attribute of a devil (Anthony Abbot or Bartholomew?) might have been done even as late as the first years of the sixteenth century. The upper half of a representation of the Annunciation has been destroyed, so that it is difficult to say whether it belongs to the style of the first or second half of the Quattrocento; nor are we helped by the discovery of a signature, Juan Sánchez (whose authorship of the Annunciation was already known to Pacheco[1]), for there are a plenitude of painters of this name both in the first and second half of the fifteenth century.[2] The fact that the other fragments in the Patio de los Muertos are of the later period would suggest this date also for the Annunciation, and in a subsequent volume we shall try to see whether, from what remains of this fresco, we can ascribe it to any one of the three Sevillian artists called Juan Sánchez whose activity falls after 1450 and who are definite personalities through their connection with extant works.

A diptych of the Madonna and of Christ at the column in the convent of Sta. Clara at Moguer, just east of Huelva (Fig. 366), bears many analogies to the achievement of the Master of the Cypresses and of the painter of Santiponce, and yet the resemblance is not sufficiently close to justify an attribution to either of these artists or to the single artist if they be one. The scourged Christ is similar in type to the many representations of Him in the miniaturist's paintings in the Seville choir-books. His feet are the unmodelled blocks which so often appear in these illuminations as well as in the Santiponce St. Matthew and which suggest the cubistic sculpture of the modern Archipenko. The outsides of the diptych are decorated with the *lacería* of the Santiponce cloister, and the form of the tortured Saviour stands forth against a *mudéjar* doorway. The ultimate Italian derivation of the scourged Christ and of the Child is self-evident. The Child, swaddled to a point at His feet, curiously recalls certain *bambini* of Don Lorenzo Monaco, but it is probably a mere coincidence occasioned by the like Italian sources of both painters. The Madonna herself is more thoroughly

---

[1] Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura*, ed. of Madrid, 1866, II, 159–160.

[2] J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Ensayo de un diccionario de los artífices que florecieron en Sevilla*, II, 98–101.

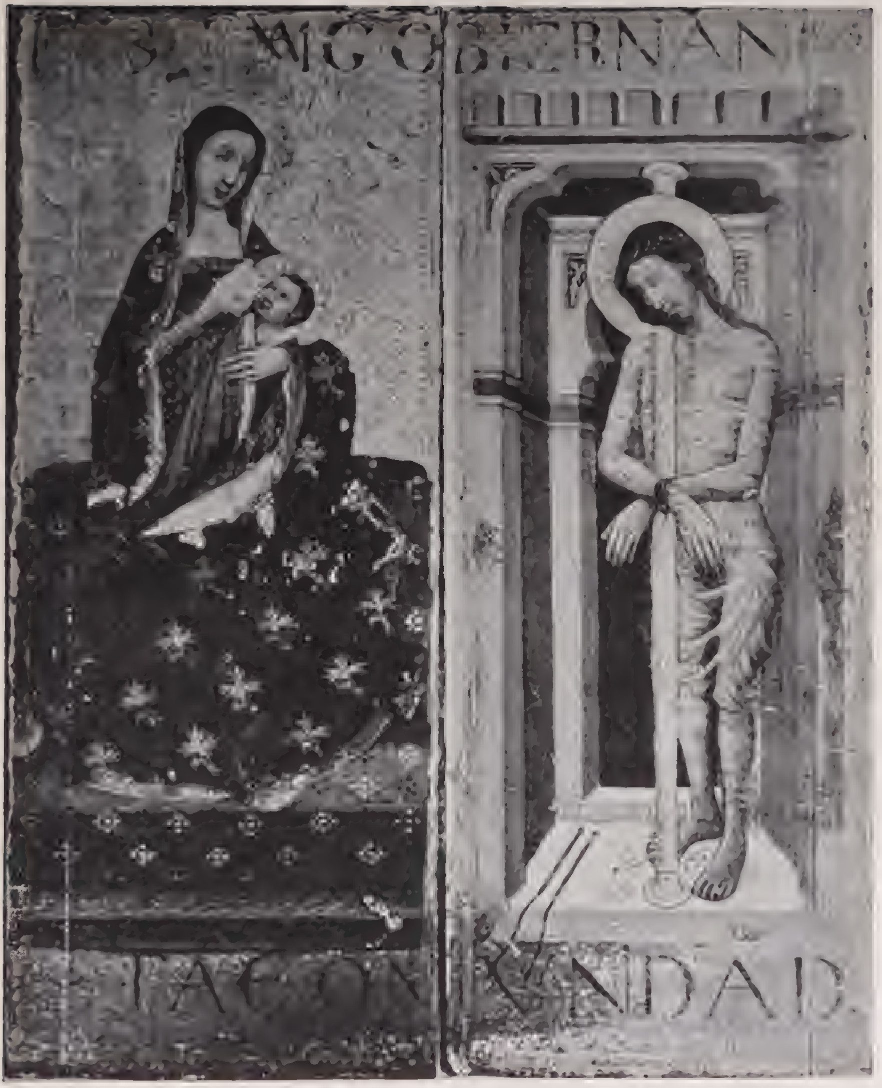

Fig. 366. DIPTYCH. STA. CLARA, MOGUER

(From "El convento de Santa Clara, en Moguer" by E. Díaz)

transmuted into an Andalusian girl than her distant cousin, the Virgen de los Remedios, but the foliate *motif* of her brocaded mantle in the Moguer example is less ostentatious (if the specimen on the Virgen de los Remedios is not repainted). The date would be somewhat earlier than the miniatures or Santiponce frescoes, apparently the first years of the fifteenth century. The right half of the diptych foreshadows the popularity of the flagellated Christ as a devotional theme in the art of Andalusia, especially at Cordova.[1]

Since I cannot agree with Mayer in ascribing to the master of the Patio de los Evangelistas at Santiponce the panel of the Nativity now over an altar at the east end of the right aisle in the church of the Virgen del Águila at Alcalá de Guadaira and since it seems to me to embody a later moment in Andalusian art, namely the first stage of the Flemish influence, its discussion must be postponed to a subsequent volume. A niche above and to the right of the panel, however, is frescoed with a bust of Santiago in which there is no certain trace of a knowledge of Flemish achievement. As far as I could observe, the background is painted to simulate a red brocade, though of a lighter shade than at Santiponce, and yet the style does not accord exactly with that of the Santiponce figures. Single effigies of saints such as this are depicted in so much the same fashion both before and after the entrance of the Flemish strain into Spain that it would be hazardous, without further evidence, to ascribe it either to the international or to the Hispano-Flemish school or to any more definite date than about 1450.

---

[1] The diptych displays an inscription of later date that reads: "Jesus and Mary govern this community."

APPENDIX

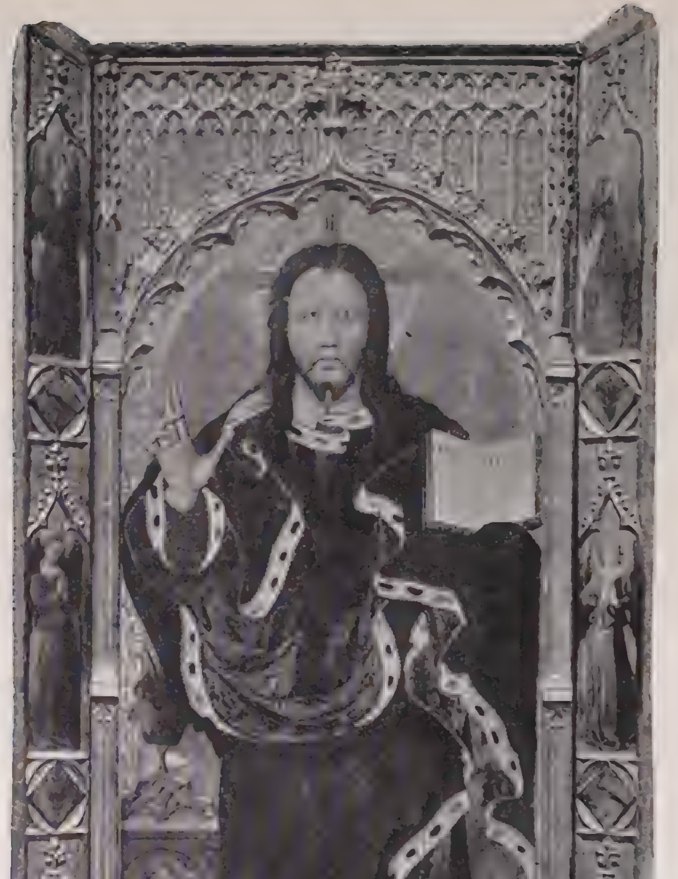

FIG. 367. CIRCLE OF NICOLAU. SALVATOR MUNDI
KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN

(Courtesy of the Museum)

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS TO VOLUME III

CHAPTER XXXII

Two panels of Sts. Augustine and Dominic in the cathedral of Burgo de Osma are undoubtedly by the hand that did the effigies of the Baptist and an episcopal saint in the *magasin* of the Louvre. Not only are the style and types identical, but the figures stand, like the Paris bishop, against balustrades relieved upon gold backgrounds diapered at the edges. The existence of these pictures at Burgo de Osma confirms the reported provenience of the Louvre panels from the region of Soria and Burgo de Osma, and proves the activity of a Valencian painter in a district thus remote from his home.

The number of works produced in the circle of Pedro Nicolau may be augmented by a large Salvator Mundi in the *Depot* of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (Fig. 367). He is represented as standing in a gold-edged, red mantle of a splendid sweep of Gothic undulations like those of Simone Martini, and at His feet is an orb with a pictured symbolization of the earth. With His right hand He blesses, and in His left hand He holds a book on the right side of which is inscribed, *Ego sum via veritas et vita: Alpha et O* [*mega*]; the left side I have not been able to decipher far enough to identify. The legend at the base seems to read, *Heich* [= *hic*, meaning "here"] *est longitudo Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, with the last four words abbreviated. As in the Paris and Burgo de Osma panels, a balustrade intervenes between the figure and the gold background, which is incised only at the border. The face of Christ bears a certain likeness to the type of the Saviour embodied by Jan van Eyck (whether or not the head ascribed to Jan van Eyck in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum or any of the several replicas are original works of the Flemish master); but all stylistic elements in the Valencian panel indicate unmistakably a date very early in the fifteenth century long before the influence of Jan van Eyck had been disseminated in the peninsula, and the similitude can easily be explained on the ground that all Gothic representations of Our Lord conform more or less to a single norm. The panel constituted the centre of a retable and still retains two of the uprights with six forms of adoring angels painted quite according to the manner of Nicolau and Marzal de Sas.

A small panel of the school of Nicolau, depicting the dead Christ upheld by an angel and once the centre of a predella, is now in the Museum of Ghent (Fig. 368).

CHAPTER XXXIII

The collection of Don Ramón Aras at Neguri, a suburb of Bilbao, contains a retable of the circle of Marzal de Sas from which the central panel has disappeared. The remains include seven scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ (the Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and Dormition), a Pietà and seated saints in the predella, angels with instruments of the Passion on the lateral *guardapolvos*, and on the upper *guardapolvo* busts of further angels.

The type of countenance, with long, pointed nose, in the panel of the Salvator Mundi lent to the Museum of Bilbao by Don Antonio Plasencia definitely fixes the work in the circle of Marzal de Sas. Clad in a red and gold tunic and a blue cope, He is seated upon a throne which closely resembles that of the Walters Madonna at Baltimore and under which may be seen seraphim with heads and wings colored with the red that is usual for this order of angels. As in the case of the Berlin Salvator, with His hands He blesses and holds a book, and His feet rest upon a globe in which the world is depicted, here by land surrounded with a boat-encumbered sea. Two adolescents, in miniature proportions, kneel as donors at the lower right. The gold background is patterned only with Valencian half-crosses. Could this panel possibly be the central section of the retable at Neguri, near Bilbao, that has just been discussed?

CHAPTER XXXVII

Of the three panels by Martín Mayol at Santa Margarita mentioned by Llabrés (*Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Luliana*, XVI, 1916–1917, p. 331), I have seen, while my book is in press, a very small and dim photograph of the St. Margaret, one of those evanescently delicate imitations of Sienese prototypes in which the Majorcans found their aesthetic pleasure.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A renewed study, at the Barcelona Exposition, of the retable of Sts. Andrew and Vincent in the cathedral of Sigüenza reveals to me the fact that it is by the same artist who painted the altarpiece of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine from the Retana Collection at Madrid, which I have catalogued under the Aragonese works in the Franco-Flemish manner. I am convinced, moreover, that another set of panels shown by the cathedral of Sigüenza at the Barcelona Exposition under No. 1700 are further parts of the altarpiece of Sts. John Baptist and Catherine. This set includes: the pinnacles representing the birth of the Baptist, St. Catherine brought to prison, and the Cruci-

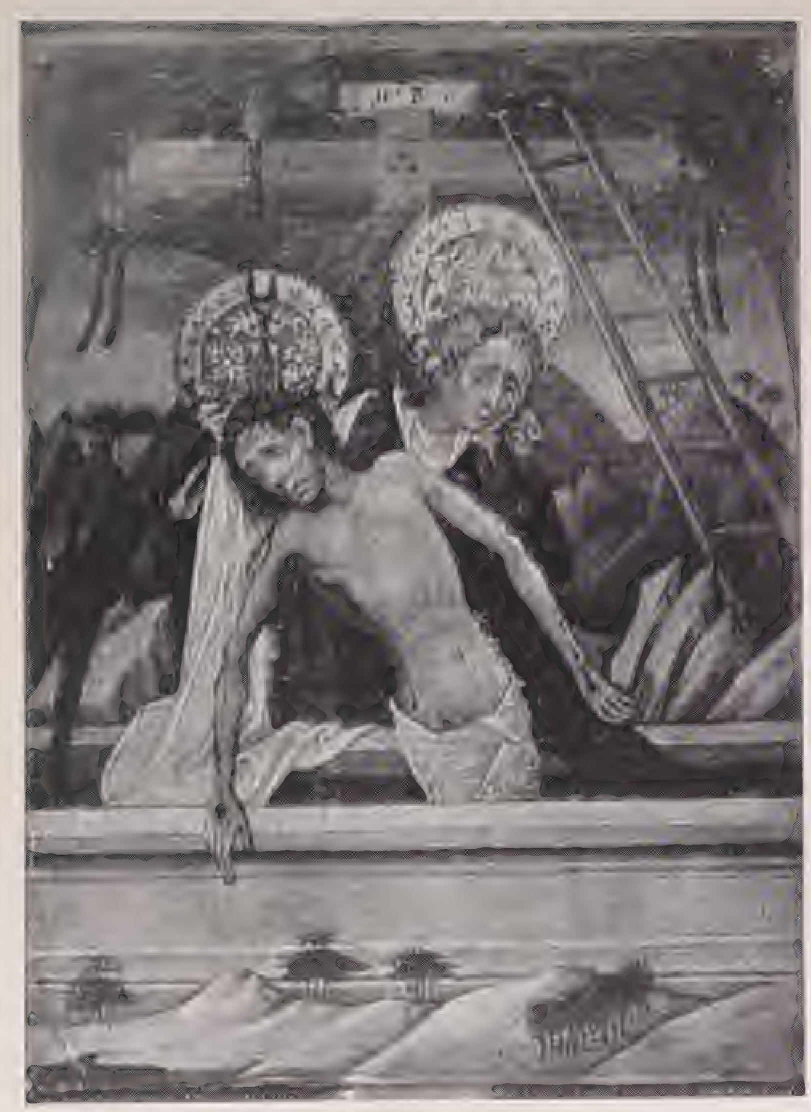

FIG. 368. SCHOOL OF NICOLAU. PIETÀ. MUSEUM, GHENT

(Courtesy of the Museum)

fixion; a predella of the Deposition and four Prophets; and small figures of saints from the frame in addition to those preserved on the uprights of the central panel at Madrid. If the altarpiece of the Baptist and St. Catherine was originally done for the cathedral of Sigüenza and was not merely acquired by this cathedral from some church between Sigüenza and Calatayud, then the tradition (which I have mentioned in the text of chapter xxxviii) that it came from a church near Calatayud was very inexact (since Sigüenza does not lie very close to Calatayud), and the master, so far as we know at present, can be localized at Sigüenza. But we are still left in a quandary in regard to the question whether he was Aragonese or Castilian, for an Aragonese painter might have found employment at Sigüenza, which, though in Castile, is not situated far from the borders of Aragon, or if, after all, the altarpiece of the Baptist and St. Catherine was done for a church near Calatayud, a Castilian painter might have wandered from Sigüenza into Aragon. The Marqués de Valderrey of Madrid exhibits at Barcelona (No. 895) yet another fragment by the same hand, an episcopal saint from the upright of a retable.

To the Ermita de S. Sebastián at Oto (close to Broto, north of Boltaña, in the province of Huesca) there has been transferred from the Ermita de Sta. Marina a retable of the Blessed Virgin that belongs to the Aragonese counterpart of the manner of Guimerá and perhaps to the circle of the master who painted the altarpiece of St. Catherine in the cathedral of Tudela. Placed at the left of the nave, it makes a pleasant contrast to the retable of the high altar, which is a very rude Aragonese production of the second half of the fifteenth century. The central panel of the retable of the Virgin is occupied by the Madonna in a superb golden tunic and copious Gothic draperies, by a Child who already betrays something of the Aragonese plainness of features, and by a diminutive, kneeling feminine donor. The lateral scenes comprise the Nativity of Christ, the Epiphany, the *Noli me tangere*, the Ascension, Pentecost, and Coronation. To the pinnacles are assigned the Crucifixion and Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation. The themes of the predella are the dead Christ between His mother and St. John and the seated saints Marina, Saturninus, Catherine, and Lawrence. The gold backgrounds are diapered with patterns sometimes of dots and sometimes of checkers.

The Marqués de Valderrey of Madrid has sent to the Barcelona Exposition a predella by the same hand that executed the Epiphany in the Valencia de Don Juan Collection. It consists of a Virgin who accompanied a dead Christ that has been lost, of a Magdalene, and of a St. Lucy garbed in one of the master's characteristic opulent costumes.

At the north side of the nave in the parish church of Tardienta, south of Huesca, is another excellent retable of St. Anne in the style of the painter of Arguis but not, I think, by the master himself. The central figures of the enthroned St. Anne, Virgin, and Child are accommodated to the Aragonese ethnic type to a greater degree than was usual in this subdivision of Aragonese painting; they wear the rich and heavy draperies that are more frequent in the pictures of the strongly indigenous Aragonese group; and they are worshipped by a kneeling feminine donor. The first narrative scene at the left cannot be seen, but the other two are the Meeting at the Golden Gate and the Marriage of the Virgin. The three episodes at the right are the Annunciation of St. Joachim, the Birth and Presentation of the Virgin. The Crucifixion is at the top of the retable, and the injured predella consists of the dead Christ between the Virgin, St. John, St. Agatha, and an unrecognizable feminine saint.

In the nondescript class of Aragonese international pictures of *c.* 1425 should probably be placed a rather well painted Virgin of Mercy, called the Virgen del Pópulo, in the cathedral of Teruel (not the example in the Episcopal Palace, which belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century). The iconography is in certain respects anomalous. In distinction from the ordinary representations of the theme, she here holds the Child, and it is only over the clergy at the left that she spreads her mantle. To the laity at the right she is no minister of mercy, for she crushes their slain bodies. The gold background is diapered only at the borders, and yet I do not feel the work as Valencian but rather as Aragonese under perhaps some Valencian influence.

I have discovered in the parish church of Lanaja (near Sariñena, south of Huesca) the most important and comprehensive extant work of the strongly indigenous Aragonese master who painted the Lázaro and Albalate Madonnas, a whole retable of the Virgin,[1] the central panel of which now hangs on the left wall of the *capilla mayor* and the numerous other parts of which are built into the new high altar. The central panel is a repetition, with slight variations, of his customary cartoon for the subject of the seated Madonna and Child: six angels play their instruments upon the throne, and a seventh presents a vase of flowers, balanced by an eighth with a scroll of music. The retable must have been a huge affair, for the subordinate, narrative panels are numerous and, like the central section, very large. The themes are the Expulsion of Sts. Joachim and Anne from the Temple (?), the Annunciation of St. Anne, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Nativity of the Virgin, her Marriage, her Annunciation, the Epiphany, the Purification, the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, the Via Dolorosa, Pentecost, the Dormition, and the Coronation, the last as grandiose a composition as that of the central panel, including likewise a galaxy of music-making angels. Still another narrative panel is set so high in the new altar and is so far hidden behind its architecture that I was unable to recognize the subject. Some of the angels from the uprights are also preserved. As in the case of the Lázaro and Albalate Madonnas, the gold backgrounds are diapered with the design of a brocade; the embossings of haloes, orphreys, and the like are confined to the central panel. The subordinate panels provide us for the first time with an opportunity to study the master's narrative style, and, as we might expect from the author of such monumental compositions of the Madonna and angels, we perceive that even when dealing with sacred history he prefers a few large forms arranged in impressive groups, that he tells his stories simply, and, though he uses contemporary costumes, indulges very little in international *genre*. His masculine types turn out to be often of the glum cast embodied in the Sperandeo de Santa Fe. Some of his youths resemble to such an extent those of the master of Arguis as to suggest that this master was his teacher.

---

[1] This cannot be the retable of St. Bartholomew which (*Revista de archivos*, XXXII, 1915, pp. 162–163) the painter, Gil Vallés, contracted in 1488 to execute for this church at Lanaja.

CHAPTER XLI

The rule that the international style at Leon is confined to the somewhat Italianate productions of Nicolás Francés and his school is proved by an exception — a capably painted panel of the Deposition which has been moved from the old hospital of S. Marcelo in Leon to the director's room in the new hospital outside the city.[1] Executed *c.* 1425, prior to Nicolás's maturity, it has nothing to do with his art, and appears to be a Spanish adaptation of the grim style that is represented for us by Burgundian sculpture of the early fifteenth century but was doubtless then embodied also in Burgundian paintings now lost. It exhibits, however, little resemblance to the manner of the Flemish painter active in Burgundy who is preserved to us, Broederlam. The man behind St. John at the foot of the cross recalls the Franco-Flemish types of the Catalan Master of St. George. The gold that was profusely used on the background in a foliate pattern and also on the vestures of Sts. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea has succumbed to the ruthless treatment that the panel in general has suffered.

It is possible to add further works to the group executed under the influence of Nicolás Francés. One of these[2] is what is left of a retable over the high altar of the Ermita that now takes the place of the abandoned parish church at the hamlet of Ribera de Grajal, north of Benavente (south of Leon). The whole central section has been lost through being repainted by a modern peasant with the scene of a city as a background for a Santo Cristo; but eight narrative panels remain at the sides in frames of the Gothic tracery affected by Nicolás and his followers. Four of the scenes have to do with the legend of the

---

[1] Discussed by Gómez-Moreno in his Catalogue of the Province of Leon on page 305 and illustrated by him in plate 449.

[2] Not catalogued by Gómez-Moreno.

Holy Cross, representing its finding and proving by St. Helen, Heraclius attempting to carry it into Jerusalem in pomp (or perhaps St. Helen's procession of the cross), and then Heraclius by angelic direction bearing it in humble state. St. Anthony Abbot enjoys the honor of two panels, which depict him as visited by pilgrims and the afflicted and eventually as himself visiting St. Paul the Hermit and receiving with him the heavenly loaves from the raven. The other two scenes are devoted to the other saint of the same name, Anthony of Padua, and represent him causing the child of the Ferrarese nobleman to absolve its mother of unfaithfulness and preaching to a crowd on the opposite side of a river (probably the crowd of Rimini, so deaf to his sermon that he had to turn his exhortations to the fishes, which, however, are not painted in the stream). The gold backgrounds are incised with a foliate design. The artist does not attain a level much above that of peasant craftsmanship, but any reflection of the charming style of Nicolás Francés is worth recording, and here and there the painter of Ribera de Grajal catches some glint of Nicolás's lovely adaptation of the international miniaturists' color.

The parish church of Bercianos del Páramo, not far from Leon at the south, possesses a few dissociated and repainted panels of the school of Nicolás Francés. Only the panel depicting the calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew remains as a whole. The other pieces are mere fragments. Two of them are parts of a panel in which the body of St. Vincent was shown as guarded by the raven against the wolf. The fragment of another panel preserves merely the representation of a building as a background. The last piece comprises the lower halves of the figures of two saints. Except in the case of this piece the backgrounds were not of gold but of landscapes and blue skies. It is particularly the forms of the two saints and the architecture of the edifices in the settings of the other panels that reveal Nicolás's manner beneath the repainting.

INDICES

INDEX OF NAMES OF ARTISTS
VOLUMES I–III

In cases where there are two or more entries after a name, the figures in heavy type indicate the pages on which the principal discussions of the artists in question may be found; for masters who are mentioned only incidentally, the heavy type has not been used in such instances.

Alexander, Master, I 272.
Alfon, Juan, III 233.
Almedina, Ferrando Yáñez de la, III 42.
Altichieri, Altichiero, III 240.
Alvaro di Pietro: *see* Pires, Alvaro.
Amberes, Francisco de: *see* Francisco de Amberes.
Andrea Bonaiuti da Firenze, II 210; III 232.
Andrea da Bologna, II 233.
Angelico, Fra, I 10, 24; II 180; III 104, 106, 212, 231, 242, 250, 274.
Angelo, Michael, III 256.
Anglada, Ermenegildo, I 23.
Antonello da Messina, I 3.
Arquer, Juan de: *see* Juan de Arquer.

Barnaba da Modena, II 186–187, 200.
Bartolo, Taddeo di, III 158.
Bassa, Arnaldo, II 195.
Bassa, Ferrer, I 15; II 22, **194–206**, 207, 214, 221, 222, 223, 232, 256; III 4, 6, 16, 20, 150.
Bellini, Gian, I 24.
Bellini, Jacopo, III, 240, 248, 260.
Berlinghieri, Bonaventura, II 183.
Bermejo, Bartolomé, I, 3, 4, 7, 20, 22, 24; II 203, 226.
Bernat, Martín, I 5; II 370.
Borgoña, Juan de: *see* Juan de Borgoña.
Borrassá, Guillermo, II 316.
Borrassá, Lucas, II 379–380.
Borrassá, Luis, I 4, 8; II 190, 216, 223, 226, 256, 260, 261, 264, 268, 280, 282, 290, 292, 303, **315–361**, 362, 364, 376, 377, 379, 380, 382, 393, 435, 444, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456; III 4, 28, 84, 108, 115, 120, 126, 138, 146, 160, 163, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 208, 212, 218.
Bosch, Jerome, II 328, 440; III 64.
Botticelli, Sandro, I 18, 24; III 246.
Bouts, Dierick, I 7, 25.
Broederlam, Melchior, III 276, 334.
Burgos, Juan de: *see* Juan de Burgos.

Cabrera, Jaime, II 190, 264, 345, **362–369**, 370, 371, 372, 376, 377, 464; III 110, 126.
Cabrera, Juan, II 418.
Camogli, Bartolommeo Pellerano da, II 233.
Camps, Francisco, III 152.
Cano, Alonso, III 129.
Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi, I 22.
Çareal (Sareal), Jaime, III 34–36.
Carpaccio, Vittorio, III 66.
Castagno, Andrea del, III 258, 321.
Castayls, Jaime, II 195.
Castello, Fabrizio, III 259.
Cavallini, Pietro, II 54, 55, 57, 200.
Chavannes, Puvis de, III 263.
Cimabue, Giovanni, I 139; II 108, 315.
Cione, Jacopo di, II 210.
Cione, Nardo di, II 210; III 74, 306.
Cirera, Jaime, II 346, **348–355**; III 72, 177.
Comes, Francisco, III 152.
Comontes, Francisco de, III 233.
Crespi, Domingo, III 30.
Çuera: *see* Zuera.

Daddi, Bernardo, III 308.
Dalmau, Luis, II 4, 372, 394, 442; III 96.
Daurer, Juan, III **148–150**, 152.
Delli, Dello, I 8, 10, 21, 23; II 9, 154, 181, 425, 442; III 42, 203, 208, 210, 211, 221, **234–260**, 261, 269, 270, 271, 272, 276, 279, 280, 285, 294, 298, 323.

Delli, Sansone, III 234, 235, 236, 239, 298, 323.
Desiderio da Settignano, II 310.
Donatello, III 289.
Duccio, I 264; II 175, 176, 182, 184, 186, 191, 196, 201, 202, 222, 254, 464; III 141.
Dürer, Albrecht, III 96.
Durandi, Jacques, II 448.

Esteve, Juan, III 17.
Van Eyck, Jan, I 20, 24; III 108, 109, 329.
Van Eyck brothers, II 206, 394, 396, 440; III 109, 199, 285.

Fábregas, Pedro, III 37.
Fernández, García, III **310–314**, 322.
Ferrarii, Iacobus: *see* Ferrer, Jaime.
Ferrer, Guillermo, III 4, 126.
Ferrer, Jaime, II **338–340**; III 182.
Ferrer Bassa: *see* Bassa, Ferrer.
Flamenco, Juan, I 23; III 287.
Fortuny, Mariano, I 18.
Francés, Nicolás: *see* Nicolás Francés.
Francesca, Piero della, I 196.
Franceschi, Francesco dei, III 260.
Francisco de Amberes, III 229, 230, 232.
Fredi, Bartolo di, III 158.

Gaddi, Agnolo, I 25; III 9, 11, 72.
Gaddi, Taddeo, III 158, 232, 310, 321.
Gallego, Fernando, I 3, 7, 25; III 239, 282, 287.
Gener, Gerardo, III **78–82**, 96, 104, 110.
Gentile da Fabriano, I 21; II 180, 400, 442; III 42, 210, 211, 236, 240, 242, 252, 260, 269, 271, 276, 283, 294.
Gérôme, Jean Léon, I 23.
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, III 238, 250, 252, 253, 254.
Ghirlandaio, Domenico, I 91; II 195.
Ghissi, Francescuccio, II 232, 233, 274.
Giambono, Michele, II 412.
Giorgione, I 8.
Giotto, I 24; II 54, 132, 133, 167, 175, 198, 201, 202, 204, 207, 210, 215, 217, 230, 296; III 9, 230, 231, 232, 272, 278, 298, 306, 310.
Giovanni da Milano, II 167, 217, 220.
Gómez, Nicolás, III 322.
González, Ferán (Fernando), III 228.
Goya y Lucientes, Francisco, I 7, 11, 16, 17, 18, 23.
Gozzoli, Benozzo, I 25; III 260.
Greco, El, I 7, 13, 22, 23; III 16, 64, 228, 279.
Gudesteo, I 193–194.
Guerau, Antonio, III 94, 128.
Guimerá, manner of, II 190, 292, 349, 350, 354, **377–392**, 393, 434, 436, 446, 455, 456; III 6, 7, 17, 22, 26, 30, 32, 78, 164, 177, 178, 180, 182, 186, 189, 190, 192, 200, 316, 318, 332.

Hernández, Jerónimo, III 305.
Herrera the Elder, Francisco, I 18.
Hispalensis, Johannes (Juan of Seville), III 314–316.
Huguet, Jaime, I 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 19, 20; II 195, 250, 302, 370, 394, 410, 418, 420, 426, 428, 456; III 65, 135.

Inglés, Jorge, III 261.

Jacobus, Master, III **182–184**, 186.
Jacomart, I 4; II 4, 7, 430, 435, 436; III 23, 30, 46, 50, 90, 93, 94, 100, 104, 108, 130, 134, 135, 136.
Johannes, Master, I **272**; II 33.
Johannes Hispalensis: *see* Hispalensis, Johannes.
John of Brussels, III 178.
Joosken van Utrecht, III 285.
Juan de Arquer, III 294.
Juan de Borgoña, III 229, 230.
Juan de Burgos, III 212, **294–296**.
Jusquín, Master: *see* Joosken van Utrecht.

Lapi, Geri, II 188.
Leonardo da Vinci, I 194.
Leví, Guillén de, III 168, 186.
Leví, Juan de, III 168, **186–190**, 194.
Lippi, Fra Filippo, II 194; III 231.
Lochner, Stephan, II 366.
Loert, Juan, III 141, 144.
López, Diego, III 322.
Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, I 9; II 187, 191, 212, 232, 246; III 277.
Lorenzetti, Pietro, II 198, 200, 228, 271; III 142.

Lorenzetti brothers, II 191, 198.
Lorenzo de Ávila, III 264.
Don Lorenzo Monaco, II 330; III 30, 75, 86, 190, 324.

Mantegna, Andrea, I 24.
Marco, Giovanni di (Giovanni dal Ponte), III, 231.
Marsoll, Nicolás, III 152.
Martini, Simone, I 24; II 8, 72, 99, 167, 175, 176, 177, 182, 183, 184, 186, 191, 196, 200, 201, 202, 276, 326, 464; III 16, 24, 38, 54, 73, 136, 138, 152, 298, 329.
Martorell, Bernardo, the Elder, II 364, **370–376**, 377, 394, 424, 458.
Martorell, Bernardo, the Younger, II 372.
Marzal de Sas, Andrés, II 190; III 22, 23, 32, 37, **57–93**, 94, 106, 112, 115, 118, 120, 329, 330.
Marzal de Sas, Enrique, III 93.
Masaccio, I 24; II 315; III 110, 236, 246, 248, 256.
Masolino, I 10, 21; II 180, 181, 315, 329; III 9, 231, 232, 236, 240, 248, 250, 252, 260.
Master of Albatárrech, II **290–300**, 318, 336.
Master of the Cardona Pentecost, II **282–288**, 292; III 166.
Master of the Cypresses, III 322, 323, 324.
Master of Flémalle, II 440.
Master of St. George, I 10, 24; II 190, 390, 392, **393–444**, 451, 466; III 64, 65, 96, 129, 130, 196, 199, 287, 334.
Master of the Solsona Last Supper, II 292, **335–345**.
Mateu, Jaime, III 44–46.
Matteo da Viterbo, II 8, 167, 177, 188.
Mayol, Martín, III 150, 330.
Mazo, Juan Bautista Martínez del, I 9.
Meissonier, Jean Louis Ernest, I 23.
Memling, Hans, I 24.
Mino da Fiesole, II 310.
Miralhete, Jean, II 448.
Moragues, Pedro, II 78; III 168.
Morales, Luis, I 13, 22.
Moro, Antonio, I 22.
Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban, I 13, 18, 22; III 298.

Nicholas of Brussels, III 178.
Nicholas the Florentine: *see* Delli, Dello.
Nicolás Francés of Leon, III 208, 211, 212, 221, **261–294**, 323, 334, 335.
Nicolau, Pedro, III **22–56**, 57, 58, 64, 66, 68, 70, 83, 86, 104, 110, 329.
Nisart, Pedro, III 154.
Nuzi, Allegretto, II 232, 233.

Ocampo, Andrés de, III 305.
Oderisi, Roberto, III 16.
Orcagna, Andrea, II 195, 210; III 306.
Ortoneda, Mateo, II 338, 348, **356–361**, 460; III 177.

Pedro de Toledo, III 322–323.
Peñaflor, Domingo, II 103.
Pérez, Antonio, III 48–50.
Pérez, Gonzalo, III **78–82**, 96, 104, 110.
Pérut, Jacques, II 107.
Pietro, Sano di, II 191, 223, 265, 318, 326.
Pintoricchio, Bernardo, I 25.
Pires, Alvaro, III 54–56.
Pisanello, I 21; II 180, 258, 418, 464; III 96, 194, 196, 240, 272.
Pisano, Andrea, II 84, 335.
Pisano, Giovanni, II 176, 179, 189.
Pisano, Niccolò, II 176.
Pou, Bernardo de, II 207, 210; III 170.
Pradilla, Francisco, I 11.
Puig, Bernardo, II 348, 350, 354.

Raurich, Bernardo, II 372.
Ribera, Jusepe de, I 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 22, 78.
Rodríguez de Toledo (Juan?), III 222–228.
Rosselli, Cosimo, III 148.
Rovira, Esteban, III 228.

Sánchez, Juan, III 324.
Sánchez de Segovia, Antón, II 145–147.
Sanglada, Pedro, III 81.
Sans, Domingo, II 444.
Sanseverino, Lorenzo da, the Elder, II 280.
Sarria, Gonzalo Peréz: *see* Pérez, Gonzalo.
Sas, Andrés Marzal de: *see* Marzal de Sas, Andrés.

Sassetta, II 191, 326, 361, 402, 415, 430; III 48, 52, 130, 199.
Scaparra, Pietro, III 184.
Serra, Jaime, I 24; II 207, 216, 219, **221–251**, 252, 256, 265, 270, 271, 272, 276, 282, 284, 288, 301, 303, 312, 313, 341, 362, **464**; III 4, 11, 18, 112, 113, 114, 124, 154, 163.
Serra, Juan, II 221.
Serra, Pedro, I 7, 20, 24; II 210, 221, 222, 223, 226, 230, 231, 233, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 246, 249, **252–314**, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 326, 335, 336, 358, 360, 361, 366, 369, 377, 402, 444, 455, **464**; III 4, 118, 124, 125, 126, 162, 177, 178.
Serra brothers (the Serras), I 4, 19; II 190, 206, 207, 214, 216, 217, 220, 221, 223, 226, 230, 238, 249, 262, 274, 275, 282, 284, 290, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 316, 318, 319, 322, 332, 336, 345, 362, 364, 368, 375, 376, 377, 378, 380, 382, 393, 394, 397, 408, 446, 455, 456, 464; III 4, 6, 78, 114, 120, 123, 124, 125, 138, 145, 146, 148, 158, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 170, 172, 174, 177, 200, 212.
Signorelli, Luca, I 89, 107.
Simone, Puccio di, III 308.
Sorolla y Bastida, Joaquín, I 11, 18, 23.
Spinello Aretino, II 72; III 9, 65, 146.
Starnina, Gherardo, II 9, 166, 182; III 8–10, 17, 211, 221, 222, 227, 228, 231, 232.
Tintoretto, Jacopo Robusti, III 252.
Tommè, Luca di, III 158.

Uccello, Paolo, II 180, 384; III 231, 238, 248.

Valdés Leal, Juan de, I 13.
Vallés, Gil, III 333.
Vallfogona, Pedro Juan de, II 400, 440.
Valls, Domingo, III 114–118.
Van Eyck: *see* Eyck, van.
Vanni, Andrea, II 223; III 134.
Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de, I 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22; II 250, 402.
Veneziano, Antonio, III 9, 260.
Verdera, Nicolás, II **366**; III 110.
Vergós, Pablo, III 194.
Viterbo, Matteo da: *see* Matteo da Viterbo.
Vivarini, Antonio, III 260.

Weyden, Roger van der, I 24.
Witz, Conrad, III 294.

Ximénez, Miguel, II 370.

Zarogoza, Lorenzo (de), II 226, 274, **377–379**; III 6, 17, 114.
Zevio, Stefano da, II 180, 366, 464; III 40.
Zubiaurre brothers, I 23.
Zuera, Pedro (Çuera), III 177–179.
Zuloaga, Ignacio, I 18, 19, 23.
Zurbarán, Francisco de, I 7, 13, 18, 19, 22.

INDEX OF PLACES

VOLUMES I–III

In cases where there are two or more numerical references after an entry, the figures in heavy type indicate the pages on which the principal discussions of the paintings in question may be found. Asterisks denote the presence of illustrations.

Abella de la Conca, retable by Jaime or Pedro Serra, II 267, **268**, **464**.
Ager, S. Pedro, frescoes, I 121–122.
Albal, retable, III **11–12***, 14, 146.
Albatárrech, Salvator Mundi by Master of Albatárrech, II **290–292***, 296, 298, 336.
Albocácer,
  Ermita de la Esperanza, retable, III **46–48***, 52.
  SS. Juanes, retable, III 48, **112–115***, 116, 117, 118, 122.
Alcalá de Guadaira, Virgen del Águila,
  altarpiece, III 326.
  fresco, III 326.
Alcañiz, castle, frescoes, I 14; II 68, **70–74***, 104, 167.
Alcazarén, S. Pedro, frescoes, II 149–150*.
Alcover, Iglesia de la Sangre,
  ceiling, II 45.
  retable, II 40–42*.
  veronicas, II **278–279**; III 162.
Alquézar, Colegiata, retable of St. Anne, III **200–202***, 203.
Altenburg, Museum, panel wrongly ascribed to Dello Delli, III 260.
Anagni, frescoes, I 70, 151, 229.
Andorra: *see* Barcelona, Rómulo Bosch Collection.
Angers, St. Aubin, frescoes, I 82.
Antwerp, cathedral, retable, II 452–455*.
Arcos de la Frontera, Sta. María, frescoes, III 304, **305–308***.
Argolell, Romanesque frescoes from: *see* Barcelona, Plandiura Collection.
Arguis, retable from : *see* Madrid, Prado.
Arlanza, S. Pedro de, frescoes, I 101, **189–194***, 296.
Arnego, Santiago de: destroyed frescoes, I 214.
Astorga, Seminario, Romanesque chest, I 297–298.
Avila, Diocesan Museum, panel of St. Paul, II 156–157*.

Balbases, Los, frescoes, II 148–149.
Baltimore, Walters Collection,
  antependium, I 278–284*.
  Valencian Madonna, I 25; III **50–53***, 54, 330.
Banastás, retables, III 175.
Bande, Sta. Comba de, lost frescoes, I 214.
Barbará, frescoes, I 45, 50, 61, 77, 78, 86, 127, **151–158***, 159, 217, 242, 244; II 187.
Barcelona,
  Amatller Collection,
    retable of St. Nicholas by Jaime and (?) Pedro Serra, II **243–244***, 362, 364.
    Romanesque retable, I 290*.
  Barnola Collection, panels of life of St. Lucy by Master of St. George, II 405–407*.
  Rómulo Bosch Collection,
    antependium of St. Lucy, II 30–31*.
    antependium of Virgin, I **270–271***, 272, 274, 275; II 232.
    fragment of Gothic antependium, II 34.
    fragments by Pedro Serra (?), II 282.
    frescoes from Andorra, I 61, **147–148**.
    panels with heads in relief, I 30.
    side-pieces of altar from Tosas, I 293–294; II **36**.
    Valencian paintings, III 28, **75–78***.
  cathedral,
    Crucifixion in Franco-Flemish manner, II **436–437***, 438, 439.

- Barcelona (*cont.*)
    - Crucifixion in Guimerá manner, II 390.
    - Madonnas in Guimerá manner, II 386–389.
    - panel of feminine saint and canonized nun, II 207.
    - panel by Sano di Pietro, II 278.
    - predella of Passion by Master of St. George, II 392, **410–412***, 414, 415, 436, 440.
    - predella of St. Onuphrius by Jaime Serra (?), II **246–249***, 251.
    - retable of Sts. Bartholomew and Elizabeth, II 460.
    - retable of Sts. Clara and Catherine, II 418.
    - retable of Sts. Martin and Ambrose, II 460.
    - retable of the Transfiguration, II **418–426***, 428.
  - Diocesan Museum,
    - antependium of St. Perpetua, II 23–25*.
    - fragments of Passion in manner of Guimerá, II 390–392*.
    - Madonna from Cornellá, II 384–387*.
    - panels of St. Vincent and Santiago by Jaime and Pedro Serra (?), II 244–246*.
    - Resurrection, school of Master of St. George, II 436.
    - retable of Baptist, school of Borrassá, II **332–335***, 456.
    - retable of St. Olive, school of Jaime Serra, II 240–242*.
    - retable of S. Cugat del Vallés, II **263–266***, 267, 268, 271, 274, 369; III **118**.
  - Dupont Collection, Nativity of school of the Serras, II 306.
  - Espona Collection, antependium, I 223–225*.
  - Masriera Collection, panels of school of the Serras, II 464.
  - La Merced, church of, tomb of Santa María del Socós, II 220.
  - Municipal Archives, miniature by Martorell (?), II **372–374***, 394.
  - Muntadas Collection,
    - Coronation, Italianate, fourteenth century, II 207.
    - Madonna by Jaime Serra (?), II 238.
    - panels of school of Master of St. George, II **407**, 408, 410, 435.
  - Museo de la Ciudadela,
    - antependia from region of La Seo de Urgel, I **221–223***, 225.
    - antependium and side-pieces from Encamp, I **247–248***, 267, 289, 293; II 28.
    - antependium from Aviá, I 226, **259–261***, 272, 274.
    - antependium from Bolvir, I 218, 253, **284–285**; II 24.
    - antependium from Feneras, I **248**, 250, 267, 289, 293; II 28.
    - antependium from Mosoll, I 264–267*.
    - antependium from Valltarga, I 249, **261–264***, 283, 284.
    - antependium of Passion, II 96–97.
    - antependium of St. Dominic, II **84–86***, 88, 91, 94, 96.
    - antependium of St. Lawrence, I 246–247.
    - antependium of Sts. Julitta and Quiricus I 78, **236–238***.
    - antependium of the bishops, I 218, **229–231***.
    - Death of St. Vincent by Marzal de Sas (?), II 355; III **72–73***.
    - Entombment attributed to Martorell, II 370–372*.
    - fragment of ceiling with story of Passion, II **45**, 104.
    - fragments of Aragonese ceilings, II 104–106.
    - fragments of school of Pedro Serra (?), II 282–283*.
    - frescoes from Esterri de Cardós, I 61, 68, 69, 109, **111–114***, 116.
    - frescoes from Ginestarre, I 96, 108, 109, **110–111***, 112, 122, 129, 144.
    - frescoes from Pedret, I 26, 32, 35, 44, 46, 61, 69, 70, 127, **130–136***, 195, 200, 219.
    - frescoes from S. Clemente de Tahull, I **83–99***, 101, 105, 107, 108, 112, 147, 219, 244; II 141.

- Barcelona (*cont.*)
  - frescoes from S. Juan de Bohí, I 74, 78–81, 83, **99–104***, 105, 121, 190, 192, 236, 237; II 140.
  - frescoes from S. Miguel de Angulasters, I 105, **107–108**, 110.
  - frescoes from S. Miguel de la Seo, I 76, 95, **105–107***, 121, 161, 221, 223, 225, 248, 250.
  - frescoes from Sta. Eulalia de Estahón, I 50, 68, 95, 111, 112, **114–116***, 139, 145.
  - frescoes from Sta. María de Esterri de Aneu, I 47, 50, 51, 52, 62, 67 ff., **136–139***, 140, 142, 144, 145, 154, 193, 208, 217.
  - frescoes from Sta. María de Tahull, I 50, 53, 75, 81, **83–99***, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112, 116, 152, 187, 200, 201, 208, 217, 221, 238, 251.
  - Gothic board canopy, I 288; II **44**.
  - Gothic ciborium, II 42–44.
  - Italianate panel from Cardona, II 213–215*.
  - Madonna and angels from Villafranca del Panadés, II 386–388*.
  - Madonna from Torroella de Montgrí, II **272–274***; III 4.
  - Madonna of Cervera, II 379, 380, **381–384***, 466.
  - retable of Baptist and St. Stephen, II 455–456.
  - retable of St. Peter Martyr, II **86–90***, 91, 94, 96.
  - retable of Sts. Michael and Peter from La Seo de Urgel, II **352–355***, 458; III 96.
  - St. Matthias by Pedro Serra (?), II 276–277*.
  - Sijena retable by Jaime Serra (?), II 228, 230, 231, **234–237***, 238, 240, 244, 252, 254, 256; III 126.
  - Pedralbes, convent,
    - frescoes by Ferrer Bassa, II 22, **195–204***, 206; III 150.
    - Gothic frescoes in cloister, II 22.
  - Plandiura Collection,
    - Annunciation from Ubeda, III 315–318*.
    - antependium from Erilavall, II 30–33*.
    - antependium from Ginestarre (?), II 28.
    - antependium from Solsona, II 30.
    - antependium of St. Christopher, II 91–93*.
    - antependium of St. Nicholas, II 78–82*.
    - antependium of Sts. Philip and James, II 47, 99, 207; III **169–172***, 176.
    - antependium of St. Ursula, II **121–122***, 451.
    - Aragonese Virgin of Mercy, III 217–219*.
    - board canopy, I 288, **296–297**.
    - frescoes from Argolell, I 41, 96, **108–110***, 112, 122, 144.
    - frescoes from Orcau, I 41, 62, 112, **122–123***, 144.
    - frescoes from S. Pedro del Burgal, I 41, 45, 61, 62, 68, 69, 80, 96, 109, 136, 138, **140–144***.
    - fresco from S. Pedro at Esterri de Aneu, I **139–140***, 142.
    - Gothic antependium of St. Clement, I 277; II **33–34***.
    - Gothic antependium of St. Michael, II **26–28***, 96.
    - Madonna from Albarracín, II **272**, 274.
    - Navarrese antependium of Christ and Apostles, II 114–118*.
    - Navarrese antependium of St. Peter, II 92, **118–121***.
    - Navarrese antependium of Virgin, II 114–119*.
    - panels from Mahamud, II 156–159*.
    - panels with heads in relief, I 30.
    - retable from Gualter by Jaime Serra (?), II **238–240***, 242, 246, 254, 256, 276, 301, 456; III 125.
    - retable from Sta. Coloma de Queralt, II **215–217***, 219, 220.
    - retable from Tortosa by Pedro Serra (?), II 266–268*.
    - retable of circle of Master of the Solsona Last Supper, II **342–345***; III 220.

Barcelona (*cont.*)
  - retable of St. Thomas, II 38–40*.
  - retable of St. Vincent, II **207–212***, 214, 215.
  - Romanesque antependium by Master Johannes, I 267, **271–273***, 275, 277; II 33, 34.
  - Romanesque antependium of St. Clement, I 275–277*.
  - Romanesque antependium of St. Michael, I **257–259***, 263; II 64.
  - Romanesque antependium of the Virgin, I **272–275***, 277; II 34.
  - Romanesque ciborium, I **291–293***, 297; II 36.
  - Romanesque side-pieces of an altar, I **288–289***, 297; II 23, 44.
  - St. Eulalia in international style, II 459–460*.
  - St. Ursula by Master Jacobus, III **180–184***, 186.
  - Salvator Mundi by Master of Albatárrech (?), II **292–293***, 336.
- Provincial Museum,
  - antependia from Vallbona de las Monjas, II **34–35***; III 126.
  - portraits of Aragonese kings, III 120–122*.
- Sta. Ana, Pentecost attributed to Pedro Serra, II **260**, 262.
- Sta. María del Mar, panels of Resurrection and Pentecost, II 444.
- Soler y March Collection,
  - fragments of school of Pedro Serra, II 282.
  - panels with heads in relief, I 30.
  - retable by Borrassá, II 315, **316–319***, 320, 321, 322; III 108.
  - triptych by Ortoneda, II 338, **356–361***.

Barluenga, S. Miguel, frescoes, II **62–65***, 96.

Bassano, Museum, panel ascribed to Dello Delli, III 260.

Bawît, frescoes, I 52, 53.

Belchite, Santuario del Pueyo, triptych, III **210–211**, 212, 214.

Bellpuig, Coronation ascribed to Ferrer Bassa, II 204–206.

Benavente, S. Juan del Mercado, frescoes, II 154.

Bercianos del Páramo, panels of school of Nicolás Francés, III 335.

Berducedo, frescoes, II 139.

Bergamo, gallery, panels ascribed to Dello Delli, III 260.

Bergen, Museum, antependia, I 217.

Berlanga: *see* S. Baudelio de Berlanga.

Berlin,
- Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Valencian Salvator Mundi, III **328–329***, 330.
- private possession, panels of school of Master of St. George, II 428.

Bierge, S. Fructuoso, frescoes, II **61–63***, 70.

Bilbao, Museum,
- panels of school of Pedro Serra, II 464.
- Valencian Salvator Mundi, III 330.

Bjeresjö, frescoes, I 45.

Boada: *see* S. Julián de Boada.

Bohí: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.

Boston,
- Fenway Court, triptych of school of the Serras, II **311–314***; III 154.
- Museum of Fine Arts,
  - frescoes from S. Baudelio de Berlanga: *see* S. Baudelio de Berlanga.
  - frescoes from Sta. María de Mur, I 41, 61, 107, **117–121***, 126, 149, 161, 199.
  - panel of Coronation, II 346–348.

Bóveda, Sta. Eulalia de, frescoes, I 27.

Brull: *see* S. Martín del Brull.

Brunswick, gallery, triptych by Alvaro Pires, III 56.

Brussels, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, antependium of St. Peter, II **92–96***, 138, 338.

Budapest, private collection, panel by Master of the Cardona Pentecost, II 286–288*.

Burgo de Osma, cathedral, panels of Sts. Augustine and Dominic, III 329.

Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum, Annunciation by Juan de Borgos, III 212, **292–296***.

Campdevánol, S. Pedro, frescoes, I 30, **166–167**, 168.
Canigou, St. Martin de, frescoes, I 75, **130**.
Cardona,
  Pentecost by Master of the Cardona Pentecost, II 226, 254, **283–285***, 286, 288.
  retable of St. Ursula, II 284, 286, **436–439***, 451.
  St. Anne retable by Master of the Cardona Pentecost, II 282, 284, **286–287***, 288, 438; III 114.
Caserras (near Berga), S. Pablo, frescoes, II 18–20*.
Caserras, S. Pedro de (on the river Ter), frescoes, I 75.
Castejón de Monegros, Ermita de SS. Sebastián y Fabián, antependium, II 82.
Castelló de Farfaña, retable, II 211–214*.
Castellón de Ampurias, retable of school of Master of St. George, II **430–432***, 466.
Castrelo de Miño, Sta. María de, frescoes, I 214–215.
Castro, Franco-Gothic panel paintings, II 82–84*
Castrogeriz, S. Juan, ceiling, II 160.
Celón, frescoes, II 139.
Chicago, Art Institute,
  Madonna by Master of Albatárrech (?), II 298–300*.
  retable of Pero López de Ayala, II 98, **126–133***, 136, 138, 192.
  St. George and dragon by Master of St. George, II **383–402***, 404, 406, 407, 414, 415, 424, 435, 442.
Chiva de Morella, Transfiguration, III 34–36*.
Civate, S. Pietro, frescoes, I 46.
Cleveland, Museum, Valencian panel of episcopal saint, III 53–55*.
Cordova, Obrería del Cabildo, polyptych, III 308–309*.
Cruilles, retable of school of Borrassá, II **332–333***, 455.
Cuenca, cathedral, Valencian panel of St. Anne, III 40–42.
Daroca,
  Colegiata,
    lid of reliquary, II 76–79*.
    panel of virgin-martyr, III 191–192*.
    panels in a generalized form of the international style, III 203.
      retable of St. Michael and the Virgin, III 190–191.
    retable of St. Peter, II **97**; III 203.
  S. Juan, frescoes, II **69–70**, 97.
  S. Miguel, frescoes, II **68–69***, 70, 97.

Ebreuil, frescoes, I 192.
L'Ecluse, frescoes, I 127–128*.
Edinburgh, National Gallery, St. Michael, III **96–100***, 104, 108.
Elne, retable, II 310–312.
Escalarre, lost frescoes, I 147.
Estahón: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela, Sta. Eulalia de Estahón.
Estella, S. Miguel, retable of St. Helen, II 125, 135; III **178–181***, 182, 184, 186, 189, 194.
Esterri de Aneu,
  S. Pedro: *see* Barcelona, Plandiura Collection.
  Sta. María: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
Esterri de Cardós: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.

Fenouillar: *see* St. Martin de Fenouillar.
Fión, frescoes, I 214.
Fitero, polychrome boxes, I 298.
Florence, S. Maria Novella, fresco by Dello Delli, III 235, 237, 238, 248, 252.
Foces: *see* S. Miguel de Foces.
Foro Claudio, frescoes, I 46.
Frankfurt am Main,
  Georg Hartmann Collection, Catalan Madonna, II 384–385*.
  Moritz N. Oppenheim Collection,
    Nativity by Jaime Serra (?), II 238.
    retable, school of Jaime Serra, II 249–251*.
  Städel Art Institute,
    Aragonese Madonna, II 342; III 52, **216–218***.
    Gothic antependium or retable, II 97–98.

Galliano, S. Vincenzo, frescoes, I 46, 61, 67–69, 114, 135, 138, 140.
Gerona,
  cathedral, panel of Entombment, II 364–366*, 371.
  private collection, panel by Borrassá, II 327.
Ghent, Museum, Pietà, III 329.
Ginestarre: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
Goslar, Neuwerkskirche, fresco, I 288.
Granada,
  Alhambra, Sala de la Justicia, ceiling paintings, II 72, 152, **160–170***, 171; III 297, 298.
  Torre de las Damas, frescoes, II 152, **169–171***.
Granadella, Ermita de S. Antonio, retables by Master of Albatárrech, II **294–298***, 300.
Granera, Sta. Cecilia, frescoes, I 149, **165***.
Guils, antependium, I 104, **251–253***.

Hagested, frescoes, I 45.
Halle, Professor Hermann Suchier, miniature by Cirera (?), II 355.
Hitterdal, antependium, I 217.
Huesca,
  cathedral, retable by Pedro Zuera, III 177–179*.
  S. Pedro, frescoes, II 50–51.

Inca, Madonna by Daurer, III 148–150*.
Isabarre, frescoes, I 61, **144–146***, 147.

Játiva,
  Colegiata,
    Virgen de la Armada, II 182.
    Virgen del Pópulo, II 182–183.
  S. Pedro, retable of Sts. Peter and Paul, III 126–128.
Jérica, Ermita de S. Roque, retable, III **48–50***, 52.

Kempley, St. Mary's, frescoes, I 44, 179, 207.
Knechtsteden, abbey, frescoes, I 44.

Lackalänga, frescoes, I 45.
Lanaja, Aragonese retable, III 333–334.
Leon,
  cathedral,
    chapel of Nuestra Señora del Dado, frescoes, III 268, 280.
    chapel of Virgen del Camino, frescoes and panels of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, III 282.
    cloister, frescoes by Nicolás Francés, III **262–280***, 281, 286.
    panels in episcopal throne, III 263, 272, 274, 284, 290.
    retable by Nicolás Francés, III **262–277***, 279, 283, 284, 290.
    trasaltar, frescoes, III 280–282.
    windows ascribed to Nicolás Francés, III 269.
  hospital, international Deposition, III 334.
  S. Isidoro
    capilla de los Quiñones, frescoes, I 54, **188–189**.
    cloister, Gothic fresco, II **142**.
    miniature by Nicolás Francés, III 268, 269, 276, 323.
    Panteón de los Reyes,
      Gothic frescoes, I 179, 188; II **141–142**.
      Romanesque frescoes, I 39, 41, 50, 62, 75, 78, 80, 81, 149, 163, **176–188***, 200, 227, 272; II 67.
Lérida,
  Academia Mariana, panels of Albatárrech retable, II **290–292**, 295, 296, 297, 298.
  Diocesan Museum,
    antependium from Treserra, I 267, **268–270***, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277.
    antependium of Christ and Apostles, II **75–77***, 186.
    Italianate Madonna, II 463–465*.
    Nativity and Epiphany by Master of the Solsona Last Supper, II **338–340***, 342.
    panel of Sts. Francis and Anthony Abbot by Jaime Serra (?), II **248–249***, 251, 301.
    panels of Albatárrech retable, II **290–292**, 295, 296, 297, 298.

- Lérida (*cont.*)
    - retable of St. Anthony by Master of the Solsona Last Supper, II **340–342***, 345.
    - seat of abbess of Sijena, II 100–101*.
    - Provincial Museum, retable of the Pahería, II **439–444***; III 192.
- Lestedo, Sta. María de, destroyed frescoes, I 214.
- Liesa,
    - Ermita de la Virgen del Monte, frescoes, II **64–66***, 70, 96.
    - granary, frescoes, II 66.
    - house of parish priest, antependium, I **253–254***; II 64.
- Lille, Museum, Valencian Trinity, III 108.
- Liria,
    - Buen Pastor, fresco, II 49.
    - Iglesia de la Sangre,
        - Franco-Gothic frescoes and panels, II **45–49***, 219; III 3.
        - retable of Sts. Vincent and Stephen, III **37–40***, 42.
- Lisbon, Museum, Aragonese triptych, III 202–203.
- Llanás, antependium, I 277–279.
- London,
    - Lord Leverhulme Collection,
        - Madonna and angels (Aragonese?), III 218–220.
        - panels of St. Ursula, II **447–451***, **452**; III 208.
    - National Gallery,
        - panel of Crucifixion, II 466.
        - panel of Dormition, III 88–89*.
    - Victoria and Albert Museum, retable of St. George, II 72; III 37, **58–66***, 70, 87, 118.
- Longares, retable of school of the Serras, II 302–303.

- Maderuelo, Ermita de la Vera Cruz, frescoes, I 50, 62, 187, **201–209***.
- Madrid,
    - Academy of History, reliquary from Piedra, I 16; III **164–168***, 204.
    - Archaeological Museum,
        - fragments of ceilings, II 160.
        - retable of Sts. Sebastian and Nicasius, II 121–125*.
        - triptych of school of Master of the Cardona Pentecost, II 288.
    - Archiepiscopal Palace, reliquary of St. Isidore, II 154–156.
    - cathedral, Virgin of Fleur-de-lis, II 152–154*.
    - Collection of Duchess of Parcent,
        - panels from S. Félix, Villalobos, III 287.
        - triptych by Nicolás Francés, III 288–289*.
    - Garnelo Collection, Valencian Madonna, III 18–21*.
    - Lázaro Collection,
        - Aragonese Madonna, III 52, **214–216***, 218, 220, **333–334**.
        - triptych by Johannes Hispalensis, III 314–316*.
    - Linares Collection, retable of Baptist and St. Catherine, III **206–209***, **330–332**.
    - Marqués de Urquijo Collection, retable, II 137–138.
    - Prado,
        - Annunciation (forgery), III 212.
        - Madonna by Master Jacobus (?), III 184–186*.
        - Madonna by Pedro Serra (?), II 272.
        - Madonna from Montesa, III **41–43***, 62.
        - panel of circle of Borrassá (?), II 345–347*.
        - retable from Arguis, III **196–200***, 202, 211, 332, 334.
    - private collection, Valencian Coronation, III 30–32.
    - Ruiz Collection, retable by Nicolás Francés, III 289–291*.
    - Apolinar Sánchez Collection, Aragonese predella, III 176–177*.
    - Traumann Collection, Coronation, school of Borrassá, II 347–348.
    - Valencia de Don Juan Collection,
        - Aragonese Epiphany, III **193–196***, 208, 332.
        - panel of St. Elizabeth, III 130–134*.
        - retable of Sts. Sebastian and Nicasius, II 121–125*.
    - Valderrey Collection
        - Aragonese predella, III 332.

Madrid (*cont.*)
    figure of episcopal saint, III 332.
  Weissberger Collection, Madonna, II 466.
Maluenda, Sta. María,
  retable of St. Andrew, III 204–205*.
  retable of St. James Major, III 211–212.
Manresa, Sta. María,
  antependium by Geri Lapi, II 188.
  Entombment of school of Borrassá, II **345–346***, 364, 371.
  retable ascribed to Martorell, II 370, **374–376***, 394.
  retable by Jaime Cabrera, II **362–366***, 368, 369, 371.
  retable by Pedro Serra, II 222, 240, 249, **252–260***, 262, 265, 266, 268, 276, 280, 301, 318, 326, 455; III 125.
Marcévol, frescoes, I 126, **127–130***.
Marmellá, frescoes, I **167–168***, 170.
Mellid, Sta. María, frescoes, II 139.
Mérida, frescoes, I 26–27.
Mesones, castle, angels on ceiling, III 168–170.
Moguer, Sta. Clara, diptych, III 324–326*.
Monflorite, frescoes, I 174–175.
Montblanch, S. Miguel, ceiling, II 44.
Morella, Pietà, III 90.
Münster, Landesmuseum, antependium, I 217, 287.
Mur, Sta. María de; *see* Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Murcia, cathedral,
  retable by Barnaba da Modena, II 186–187.
  Valencian retable of St. Michael, III 36–37.
Muro, St. Michael by Daurer, III 150.

Neguri, Aras Collection, Valencian retable, III 330.
Nepi, S. Elia, frescoes, I 70.
New York,
  Barnard Cloisters, retable of St. Andrew, II **133–136***, **463**; III 178, 180.
  Hispanic Society,
    sections of retable by Domingo Valls (?), III 115–116.
    sections of Valencian retable, III **83–88***, 89, 98.
    Valencian Nativity, III 4–6*.
  Metropolitan Museum,
    retable of St. Andrew, II **432–435***.
    sections of Valencian retable, III **83–88***, 89, 98.
  Myron C. Taylor Collection, ceiling, II 103–105*.
Niederzell, Reichenau, frescoes, I 44, 60.

Oberzell, Reichenau, Georgskirche, frescoes, I 59–60.
Öfraby, frescoes, I 45.
Orcau: *see* Barcelona, Plandiura Collection.
Osormort: *see* S. Saturnino de Osormort.
Oto, retable of Virgin, III 332.
Oviedo,
  Cámara Santa, frescoes, I 29.
  cathedral, frescoes, I 29–30.
  S. Julián de los Prados (Santullano), frescoes, I 27–28.
  S. Miguel de Linio, frescoes, I **28**, 31.

Palau, retable by Jaime Serra, II **229–234***, 238, 254, 256, 270, 271, 274; III 125.
Palencia, cathedral, panel of the Magdalene, III 292.
Palma,
  cathedral,
    retable of St. Eulalia, III **142–144***, 145, 150.
    retable of Sts. Matthew and Francis, III 144, **146–148***.
  Episcopal Palace, retable of St. Paul, III 12, **144–146***.
  Montesión, church of, retable, II 212; III **156–159***.
  Museo Arqueológico (Luliano),
    Coronation by Daurer (?), III 150–151*.
    Italian Madonna, II **186**; III 138.
    panel of St. George, II 313; III **152–157***.
    panel of St. James, III 158.
    retable of St. Bernard, II 42; III **138–140***, 141, 142.
    retable of St. Clara, II **183–186***; III 138.
    retable of St. Nicholas, III 160*.

Palma (*cont.*)
    retable of St. Quiteria, III **141–142**, 144, 145.
    veronicas, II 278; III **162**.
  Museo de la Lonja, fragments of retable, III 154–156.
  Sta. Cruz, St. Christopher, III 152.
  Sta. Eulalia,
    panel of Dormition, III 160–162*.
    retable, III 158.
    Salvator Mundi, III 152–155*.
Pamplona, cathedral,
  frescoes, II 16, **107–112**; III 163–164.
  panel of Crucifixion, II 112–114*.
Paris,
  Louvre,
    panels ascribed to school of Gentile da Fabriano, III 210, 260.
    panels of retable by Master of St. George, II **397–402***, 404, 406, 407, 410, 412, 414, 415, 424, 428; III 287.
    panels of Valencian school, III **26–31***, 329.
  Martin le Roy Collection, retable of St. Lucy, II 398, **402–407***, 410, 412, 434, 435, 439.
  Musée des Arts Décoratifs,
    antependium of St. Eugenia, II **89–91***, 92, 94.
    panel by Pedro or Jaime Serra, II 281–282*.
    retable by Borrassá (?), II 303, **330–332***, 334, 335, 352, 435, 456; III 146.
Pedralbes: *see* Barcelona.
Pedret: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
Peñafiel, Ermita, retables in international style, II 446–448.
Perazancas, Ermita de S. Pelayo, frescoes, I 196–197*.
Perpignan, cathedral, Romanesque antependium, I 249–251*.
Philadelphia, Johnson Collection,
  panel of birth of Virgin in international style, II 451–452*.
  panels by Marzal de Sas (?), III **66–69***, 73.
  predella in international style, II **448–451***; III 208.
Piedra, monastery, frescoes, III 204–206.
Pisa,
  Conti Agostini Collection, Madonna by Alvaro Pires (?), III 56.
  Gallery, Madonna by Alvaro Pires, III 54.
  Schiff Collection, panel by Pedro Serra (?), II **280**, 321.
Polinyá, frescoes, I 50, 75, 78, 149, **158–160***.
Pollensa, Sta. María del Puig, Madonna and angels, III 150–153*.
Pompenillo, retable, III 192–193*.
Poncé, frescoes, I 98.
Providence, John Nicholas Brown Collection, Crucifixion of school of Nicolás Francés, III 290–293*.
Púbol, retable, I 25; II **414–419***, 422, 424.
Puentedura, frescoes, II 149.
Puente la Reina, church of the Crucifijo, frescoes, II 112.
Pürgg, chapel of St. John, frescoes, I 44.
El Puig, Entombment, III **90–93***, 98.
Puigpalter, fresco, II 23.

Qeledjlar, frescoes, I 52.

Revilla de Santullán, frescoes, I 197.
Ribera de Cardós: *see* Esterri de Cardos, Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
Ribera de Grajal, retable of school of Nicolás Francés, III 334–335.
Roda Ribagorza, frescoes, I 171–172*.
Ródenas, retable, III 135–136.
Rome,
  S. Clemente, frescoes, I 59.
  S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, frescoes, I 68.
  S. Maria Antiqua, frescoes, I 59.
Ronda, Collection of the Duchess of Parcent, triptych by Ferrer Bassa (?), II **205–206***, 232.
Rubielos de Mora,
  Augustinian convent, retable of Trinity, III 82–83*.
  parish church, retable, III 73–75*.

St. André de Sorède, fresco, I 162; II **22–23**.
St. Genis des Fontaines, lost antependium by Master Alexander, I 272.

St. Martin de Fenouillar, frescoes, I 50, 70, 75, 94, 117, **122–127***, 128, 153, 164, 217, 242.
St. Savin, frescoes, I 43–44, 56.
Salamanca,
  Episcopal Palace, fragments of predella by Dello Delli, III 259.
  Old Cathedral,
    chapel of St. Martin, frescoes, II **142–147***, 148.
    frescoes by Dello Delli, III **234–258***, 270.
    retable by Dello Delli, III **234–258***, 270, 271, 279, 285, 323.
    retable of aged saint, in cloister, III 260.
    retable of St. Lawrence, III 260.
    tombs, frescoes, II 147–148.
  Sta. Isabel, panel by Dello Delli, III 257–259*.
  Sta. Úrsula, convent, Andalusian panels, III 310–314*.
S. Baudelio de Berlanga, frescoes, I 32, 42, 62, 80, **197–203***, 208, 209, 292.
S. Cugat del Vallés, frescoes, II 18.
S. Fedelino, frescoes, I 46.
S. Jaime de Frontanyá, frescoes and retable, I 170; II 37.
S. Julián de Banzo, retable, II 13, **98–99**, 100; III 172.
S. Julián de Boada, frescoes, I 50, 149, **164–165***.
S. Lorenzo de Morúnys,
  Mass of St. Gregory by Cirera (?), II 352.
  retable by Cirera (?), II **350–352***, 354, 458.
  retable of Pentecost attributed to Pedro Serra, II **260–264***, 268, 286, 369; III 114.
S. Martín del Brull, frescoes, I 75, **162**.
S. Martín de Mondoñedo, abbey, frescoes, I 98, 214; II **140–141**.
S. Martín Sarroca, retable of school of Jaime Cabrera, II 367–369*.
S. Martín Sescorts, frescoes, I 62, 149, **160**, 209; II 148.
S. Miguel de Foces, frescoes, II **57–61***, 64, 66, 68, 96, 147.
S. Millán de la Cogolla, retable, II 136–137.
S. Pedro del Burgal: *see* Barcelona, Plandiura Collection.
S. Saturnino de Osormort, frescoes, I 61, 90, **160–162***.
Sta. Ana de Montral, fresco, I 162–163*.
Sta. Barbara, George E. Steedman Collection, ceiling, II 104.
Sta. Coloma de Andorra, frescoes, I **110**.
Sta. Eulalia de Espenuca, frescoes, I **214**; II **139–140**.
Sta. Eulalia de Estahón: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
Sta. Margarita (Majorca), retable by Martín Mayol, III 150, 330.
Sta. María de Castrelo de Miño: *see* Castrelo de Miño.
S. Agostino di Nicosia, Madonna by Alvaro Pires, III 56.
S. Angelo in Formis, frescoes, I 45, 69, 138.
Santiponce, S. Isidoro del Campo, frescoes, II 152; III **317–324***, 326.
Sto. Domingo de Silos,
  ceilings, II 158–161*.
  Romanesque fresco, I 196.
S. Vincenzo al Volturno, frescoes, I 60.
Saragossa,
  cathedral, panel of St. Valerius (?), III 206.
  Museum,
    Madonna of Albalate, III 52, 214 **215–216***, 218, **333–334**.
  retable by Jaime Serra, II **221–227***, 228, 230, 231, 234, 341.
  Román Vicente Collection,
    Crucifixion, II 389–390*.
    Madonna by Pedro Serra (?), II 9, 187, 217, 230, 246, **268–272***, 274, 275.
    triptych of St. Catherine, III 108–111*.
S. Nicolás, panels by Jaime Serra, II **226–230**, 236.
Santo Sepulcro, retable by Pedro Serra(?), II **275–276**, 301.
Sarrión, Madonna by Pedro Nicolau, III **24–26***, 28, 30, 32, 46, 52, 58, 68, 70.

- Segorbe, cathedral, retable of Sts. Eulalia and Clara, III 122–124*.
- Segovia, Torre de Hércules, frescoes, II 150–152.
- La Seo de Urgel,
  - cathedral,
    - Gothic fresco on pier, II 22.
    - Romanesque frescoes, I 148.
    - tomb of Bernard de Traveseras, II 309–310.
  - S. Miguel: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
- Serrabonne, frescoes, I 130.
- Sescorts: *see* S. Martín Sescorts.
- Seville,
  - cathedral,
    - miniatures by Master of the Cypresses, III 322–323.
    - Virgen de la Antigua, II 154; III **298–305***.
    - Virgen de los Remedios, II 314; III **313–316***, 326.
  - Museum,
    - frescoes from Santiponce, III 320, 324.
    - copies of frescoes at Santiponce, III 320.
  - San Ildefonso, Virgen del Coral, II 154; III **298–305***.
  - San Lorenzo, Virgen de Rocamador, II 154; III **298–305***.
- Sigüenza, cathedral,
  - further parts of Retana retable, III 330–332.
  - retable of Sts. Andrew and Vincent, III **175-176, 330–332**.
- Sijena, frescoes, II 50, **51–57***, 75, 76, 186.
- Silos: *see* Sto. Domingo de Silos.
- Sitges, Rusiñol Collection, retable of school of the Serras, II **303–306***, 308, 309, 330, 435.
- Slaglille, frescoes, I 45.
- Soest, St. Patroclus, frescoes, I 44.
- Solsona, Museum,
  - Last Supper, II **335–338***, 341, 342, 384.
  - panels by Master of the Cardona Pentecost, II 283–284.
  - retable from S. Jaime de Frontanyá, II 37–39*.
  - side-pieces of St. Andrew frontal, I 81, **238–243***.
- Sorède: *see* St. André de Sorède.
- Soria, S. Pedro, frescoes, I 209.
- Sorpe, frescoes, I 144.
- Sos, frescoes, I 175, 186; II **67–68**.
- Sot de Ferrer, St. Michael, III 13–14*.
- Spoleto, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, frescoes, I 151.

- Tahull, S. Clemente and Sta. María: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
- Tapioles, panels of school of Nicolás Francés, III 286–287.
- Tarazona, cathedral, retable of Sts. Lawrence, Prudentius, and Catherine, III **186–190**, 194.
- Tardienta, retable of St. Anne, III 332–333.
- Tarragona,
  - cathedral,
    - ceiling, II 45.
    - Franco-Gothic panels, II 42–43*.
    - retable of St. Bartholomew, II 217–220*.
  - Diocesan Museum,
    - panel of two Sts. John, II 426–428*.
    - retable by Ortoneda, II **355–361***.
    - retable from Pobla de Ciérvoles, II 410, **412–415***, 416, 418, 420, 422, 424, 428, 430; III 104, 198.
    - retable from La Secuita, school of the Serras, II 303–304*.
    - retable from Santas Creus, II 303; III **118–122***.
    - retable of Santiago, school of the Serras, II 300–301*.
- Tarrasa,
  - Biblioteca-Museo Municipal,
    - Franco-Gothic panel of St. Bartholomew, II 463.
    - Pentecost of school of the Serras, II 306*.
  - rector's house, retable by Borrassá, II 315, **319–323***, 326, 328, 332, 342, 349; III 108, 126.
  - S. Miguel, frescoes, I **30** ff.*, 135, 167.
  - S. Pedro,
    - Gothic frescoes, I 170; II **21–22**.
    - rustic frescoes, I **168–170***; II 37.
  - Sta. Maria,
    - early frescoes in main apse, I 32.

Tarrasa (*cont.*)
    Gothic frescoes in main apse, II **19–21***, 22.
    retable of St. Michael, II 374, **456–459***.
    Romanesque frescoes in south apse, I 81, **149–151***.
Termeno, frescoes, I 121.
Teruel, cathedral,
  ceiling, II 45, **100–103**, 160; III 209.
  Virgin of Mercy, III 333.
Tivoli, S. Silvestro, frescoes, I 70.
Toledo,
  cathedral,
    baptismal chapel, predella, III 232–233.
    chapel of S. Blas, frescoes, III **222–228***, 229, 231.
    chapel of S. Eugenio, retable, III 229–232.
    chapel of Trinity, panel of episcopal saint, III 233.
    chapels of the Reyes Nuevos and Viejos, lost works of Juan Alfon, III 233.
  Concepción Francisca, convent, frescoes, III 228–229.
  El Cristo de la Luz, frescoes, I 41, 53, **209–213***.
Tordesillas, church of Poor Clares,
  paintings in ceiling, III 285–286.
  retable by Nicolás Francés, III **282–285**, 289, 290.
Toro,
  S. Pedro del Olmo, frescoes, II 149–150*.
  Sancti Spíritus,
    Crucifixion, II 158.
    panels of Sts. Thomas and Peter Martyr, III 296.
Torroella de Montgrí: *see* Barcelona, Museo de la Ciudadela.
Tortosa, cathedral,
  Entombment, II 464.
  veronica of Virgin, II 278–279.
Tubilla del Agua, S. Miguel, fresco, I **194–196***; II 19.
Tudela, cathedral,
  retable of St. Catherine, III **186–187***, 189, 332.
  retable of Virgen de la Esperanza, III 84, **171–175***.
Turin, Gualino Collection,
  Gothic antependium, II 114–118*.
  Madonna by Pedro Nicolau (?), III **26–27***, 28.
  Romanesque antependium, I **248–249***, 250.

Uncastillo, Ermita de S. Juan, frescoes, I 171–174*.

Vä, frescoes, I 45.
Val-de-Dios, S. Salvador, frescoes, I 28.
Valdonsera, S. Martín de la, antependium and predella, II 100.
Valencia,
  cathedral,
    fresco by Dello Delli, III 234, 238, 239, **258**.
    Incredulity of St. Thomas by Marzal de Sas (?), III **57–59***, 63, 64, 65, 70, 83, 86, 88, 90, 120.
    Madonna and angels, III **30–33***, 110.
    Pietà of school of Marzal de Sas, III 90–91*.
    Sts. Martha and Clement by Gerardo Gener and Gonzalo Pérez (?), II 350, 355; III 28, **78–83***, 96, 104, 110.
    Tusco-Byzantine Madonna, II 183.
    veronica of Virgin, II 278–279.
  Diocesan Museum,
    Madonna on Serra cartoon, II **274**; III 4, 112.
    panel of Pantocrator, *détente* of the Germanic tendency, III **106**, 110.
    panels of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, early Renaissance, III 81.
    two panels with legend of the Holy Cross, III **106**, 110.
    retable of Ollería, III **32–34**, 36, 40 68, 70, 106.
  Provincial Museum,
    fragments of retables representing a *détente* of the Germanic tendency, III **100–106***, 110.
    panel of Sts. Francis and Catherine, III 130–132*.

Valencia (*cont.*)
  retable from Puebla Larga, III 129–130*.
  retable of Bonifacio Ferrer, II 9; III **14–18***, 32, 40, 70, 227.
  retable of Holy Cross, III 32, 34, **66–72***, 73, 88, 104.
  retable of Sto. Domingo, III 21, **43–46***.
  triptych of St. Martin, II 350, 355; III 93, **94–96***, 98, 100, 104, 106, 108, 109.
  S. Agustín, Tusco-Byzantine Madonna, II 183.
  S. Salvador, Madonna on Serra cartoon, II **275**; III 4, 112.
Valencia de Aneu, frescoes, I 50, **145–147**.
Vaudieu, La, abbey, frescoes, I 44, 53.
Vich, Museum,
  antependium from Montgrony, I **219–221***, 223, 225, 229, 236, 237.
  antependium in international style, II 445–446.
  antependium of St. Andrew, I 81, **238–243***, 263.
  antependium of St. Cyprian, II **28–30***, 42.
  antependium of St. Hilary, I **251**, 253, 263.
  antependium of St. Lawrence, I **227–229***, 233, 234, 238, 243, 250, 257, 286.
  antependium of St. Margaret, I 226, 227, **231–233***, 234, 238, 243, 246, 251.
  antependium of St. Michael, II 24.
  antependium of St. Saturninus, I **259**, 263.
  antependium of school of the Serras, II **310**, 444.
  antependium of Virgin, No. 3, I 226, 227, **233–236***, 246, 261, 272.
  antependium of Virgin, No. 4, I 226, **255–257***, 259, 261, 286.
  antependium of Virgin, No. 7, I **243–246***, 255, 277.
  board canopy from Ribas, I 225, **294–295***.
  Crucifixion by Jaime Serra (?), II 236–238.
  embroidered antependium from S. Juan de las Abadesas, II 189; III 182.
  fragments of retable from Gurb by Borrassá, II **328–329***, 435.
  fragments of retable of Passion in manner of Guimerá, II 392.
  fragments of retable of school of Master of St. George, II **408–410***, 435.
  Gothic side-pieces of altar, with Sts. Michael, Peter, and Paul, I 285, 293; II **36**, 44.
  Gothic side-pieces of altar, with Sts. Peter and Paul, Nos. 1 and 2, I 285; II **36–37***.
  late Romanesque board canopy, I 294–296*.
  Madonna by Jaime Cabrera, II **366–367***, 368, 369; III 110.
  panel ascribed to Ferrer Bassa, II 204.
  panel of Christ before Pilate by Pedro Serra (?), II 279–280*.
  panel of Sts. Bartholomew and Bernard by Pedro Serra, II **259–260***, 275.
  panels by Cirera, II **348–349***, 350, 351, 352, 354.
  panels from life of St. Anthony Abbot, II 302.
  panels of life of St. Peter, school of Borrassá, II 346.
  panels of Passion, school of Borrassá, II 346.
  predella from Seva by Borrassá (?), II 327–328.
  retable of Guimerá, II 378, 379, **380–384***; III 30, 199.
  retable of Magdalene, II **428–430***; III 104, 199.
  retable of St. Christina, II 36.
  retable of St. Eulalia, II 435–436.
  retable of Sts. Margaret and Anthony, school of the Serras, II 301–302.
  Romanesque beam, I 293.
  Romanesque side-piece of altar with angel, I 285–286.
  Romanesque side-pieces of altar, Nos. 10 and 11, I 286–288*.
  Sta. Clara retable by Borrassá, II 226, 292, 321, **322–327***, 328, 329, 330, 332, 435; III 28, 84, 115.
  Small retable, No. 817, II 444.

Vich, Museum (*cont.*)
  Valencian Trinity, III 106–110*.
  veronica of Virgin by Pedro Serra (?), II **276–279**; III 162.
  veronica of Virgin of later fifteenth century, III 162.
Vicq, frescoes, I 74, 98, 99, 102, 120, 121.
Vilar de Sarria, lost frescoes, I 214.
Villacé, copy of Berlinghieri's St. Francis, II 183.
Villafranca del Cid, Ermita de S. Miguel, retable of St. Michael, III 135.
Villafranca del Panadés, S. Francisco, retable of school of the Serras, II **306–309***, 313, 361.
Villahermosa, Ermita de S. Bartolomé, retables, II 275; III **124–127***.
Villalobos, S. Félix, dispersed retable, III 287–288.
Villalpando,
  Nuestra Señora del Templo, lost panels of circle of Nicolás Francés, III 286.
  S. Miguel, retable by Nicolás Francés, III 286.
Vinslöv, frescoes, I 45.
Volterra, Palazzo dei Priori, altarpiece by Alvaro Pires, III 56.

Worcester, Museum,
  panel by Domingo Valls (?), III 116–118*.
  St. Bartholomew, III **96–100***, 104, 108.

Zorita del Páramo, frescoes, II 148.
Zumaya, Zuloaga Museum, another part of retable of St. Andrew in the Barnard cloisters, New York, II 463.

DATE DUE
JUN 14

THIS REFERENCE BOOK MAY
CIRCULATE
FOR THREE DAYS.

REFEREN
768.46
P845h
v.3

POST, C.R.
History of Spanish
painting.

THIS [illegible]

III

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
3 3311 02133 0008